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FATHERLAND FRONT 10TH CONGRESS RESOLUTION

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 22 May 87 pp 1,3

[Text] After discussing the report on restructuring the Fatherland Front, presented by comrade Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, and the report submitted by the National Council on the work of the Fatherland Front after the 9th Congress, the 10th Fatherland Front Congress accepts in full and approves the evaluations and conclusions they contain and the trends in the radical restructuring of its activities.

The 10th Fatherland Front Congress accepts with profound satisfaction the evaluation of the historical role played by the Fatherland Front as provided in the remarkable speech of comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee. The congress expresses its full agreement with and belief in the new concepts and tasks which will make the Fatherland Front a strong social support of self-governing territorial units and their population masters of the respective territories.

The congress is taking place at a crucial time characterized by new realities in international life and in the country's domestic situation. The main thing now is to make a scientific and technical revolution and, on this basis, to develop the advantages of the socialist social system and socialist democracy and to ensure the increasing satisfaction of the material, social and spiritual needs of the people.

The resolutions of the 13th BCP Congress and the subsequent plenums of the BCP Central Committee, the report submitted by comrade Todor Zhivkov on the occasion of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, his speech at the 4th session of the 9th National Assembly and the historical declaration of the National Assembly on assigning the management and control of socialist property to labor collectives are of tremendous importance in the conversion to a new higher stage in our development and a radical restructuring of the economy in all areas of social life.

The congress unanimously expresses its full support of the strategic course charted by the party for a qualitatively new growth and indicates the readiness of the Fatherland Front radically to restructure its activities and to unite and harness the forces of the people to work and struggle for the

sake of the great objective: to accelerate the pace in building a developed socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The 10th Congress is taking place in complex and conflicting international circumstances, in which the nuclear arms race, which is growing by the fault of imperialism, is threatening the very existence of mankind and life on earth. Once again the congress confirms the profoundly peaceful nature of the Bulgarian people and the active support which the Fatherland Front is giving to the party's foreign policy course and the coordinated actions and struggle waged by the socialist countries for a new style of political thinking and acting in the international arena. The congress warmly welcomes and supports Soviet initiatives on disarmament, the elimination of nuclear missiles and other mass destruction weapons and a world free from weapons and wars.

At their 10th Congress all members of the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria--communists, united agrarians and nonparty people--expressed their inflexible unity and cohesion, rallied around the Leninist April general line of the BCP, which is earmarking bright prospects in the new stage of development of our homeland.

During the period under consideration, led by the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Fatherland Front developed extensive organizational and political activities for the mass participation of the population in the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th and 13th party congresses and the 9th Fatherland Front Congress, and the tasks set to it by comrade Todor Zhivkov.

The process of restructuring of the Fatherland Front as an organization and a movement was intensified; its activities were improved in the implementation of the major task of becoming the social guarantor of the comprehensive development of settlement systems.

The active role which the Fatherland Front is playing in developing representative authorities of the state and broadening their social base and interaction with them is becoming apparent.

The joint work conducted between the Fatherland Front and the central state authorities and departments in solving important problems related to the development of the country and satisfying the needs of the population, has been enhanced. The Fatherland Front has made a significant contribution to the application of the sociostate and state-social principles in the activities of social management authorities.

Some steps were taken to develop direct democracy. Managers and state and economic figures are maintaining more regular contacts with the population and are reporting to the citizens.

The Fatherland Front National Council is exercising better its right to initiate legislation.

The Fatherland Front has energized its activities in the struggle against negative phenomena in observing socialist legality and creating a healthy and favorable sociopsychological climate in residential areas.

Positive changes were made in the organization and exercise of public control; its scope and interactions with state and people's control authorities has broadened.

The Fatherland Front is making a greater contribution to the implementation of the party's and state's socioeconomic policy, enhancing the participation of the population in developing the infrastructure of settlement systems and improving comprehensive social services to the citizens. The movement for building, improving and developing the hygiene of settlements is expanding on a broad basis. The Fatherland Front is acting more energetically in expanding and ensuring the efficient utilization of brigade labor at places of residence. Positive results have been achieved in work with the population in order to conserve energy, fuel and water in the communal-consumer sector and in collecting and utilizing secondary raw materials. The Fatherland Front is providing significant help to public farming and in increasing the contribution of private plots in self-satisfaction with products.

The Fatherland Front nationwide movement for the protection of nature carried out a variety of environmental protection initiatives in protecting, restoring and enriching the environment. A useful initiative was launched of developing in our country the international "ecoforum for peace" and creating a movement for this purpose, whose center is in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The main distinguishing feature of the ideological and educational activities after the 9th Fatherland Front Congress was its aspiration to be closer to life and the daily activities of the people and to function as an efficient factor in the socioeconomic and spiritual development of the country and the settlement systems.

The congress fully approves the practical activities of the Fatherland Front in enhancing the role and responsibility of the socialist family in giving birth to, raising and educating the growing generation and in the realization of the young people in life.

Work on the further development of the Bulgarian socialist nation and the patriotic and international upbringing of the population is being enhanced. In coordination with the other public organizations, increasingly the Fatherland Front is becoming the spokesman for the social interest in the preservation and enrichment of the spiritual values of the people, the content and forms of cultural-mass activities and the assertion of socialist holidays and ceremonies.

The Fatherland Front press and book publishing have continued their work in the spirit of the party concept of Bulgarian journalism and have made their contributions to the ideological and political upbringing of the people.

The Fatherland Front is helping to strengthen the defense capability of the country and enhancing vigilance and maintenance of public order.

During the period under consideration the Fatherland Front leading authorities and personalities worked more systematically to improve organizational activities and to upgrade the efficiency and active nature of the primary

organizations. More purposeful efforts were made to apply their positive experience and assert them as the masters of their territory and to implement other initiatives in residential areas.

Positive processes occurred in the renovation of cadres and the aktiv. The leaderships of the Fatherland Front rallied the efforts of communists and agrarians, promoting the increasing participation of young people, women and nonparty people and dedicating greater efforts to their training. The public principles in the activities of the organization are being broadened.

Through its international activities the Fatherland Front is steadily developing and strengthening its ties with related fronts in the socialist countries and progressive parties and movements in other states and is assisting in promoting cooperation and understanding among nations and in the struggle for the preservation of world peace.

In addition to successes, the congress also noted substantial weaknesses and difficulties in Fatherland Front activities.

The work of the Fatherland Front committees and organizations in developing direct democracy has not become systematic and consistent. The holding of local discussions and referendums in solving important problems of the development of settlement systems and settlements is not being ensured. There is no adequate constant interaction with the people's councils and other state and public authorities and organizations in ensuring the broader participation of the population in social management. Contacts between leaders and elected officials, on the one hand, and the people, on the other, have not become comprehensive practice. The Fatherland Front managements are not displaying the necessary persistence and social exigency in promptly reacting to critical remarks and acting on reasonable suggestions and requirements of the working people.

The struggle waged by the Fatherland Front against violations of laws and of public order and discipline, against encroachments on public property and social deformations and other negative phenomena is not systematic, aggressive and efficient. In this respect, social control has not become comprehensive.

Insufficient efforts are being made to ensure the use of existing reserves in public and private farming for the production of more meat, milk, fruits, vegetables, and so on. The satisfaction of population needs for the necessary variety of commodities and services has not become the permanent concern and social responsibility of Fatherland Front committees and organizations everywhere. Work for clean and pleasant settlements and for the further enrichment and improved aesthetics of the environment is not comprehensive and is frequently in the nature of campaigns. Pollution and poor hygiene of settlements are not being prevented. Dangerous harm caused to the environment and violations of the ecological balance are continuing. Insufficient steps are being taken to upgrade the efficiency of brigade labor and the use of the labor of the retired, housewives and students.

Shortcomings in the organization and management of ideological and educational activities exist, which significantly lower the results of ideological

measures. Formalism and instructiveness continue to hinder the work. Occasionally, the Fatherland Front falls behind events in ideological activities instead of anticipating them and opening the road to the new and ideologically ensuring the implementation of assignments. Insufficient openness and criticism of the work are insufficient and public opinion is not heard strongly enough.

During the period of consideration a number of weaknesses occurred in the work of the primary organizations. The specific circumstances under which they work are still not being taken sufficiently into consideration or known. Not everywhere is man, with his needs and problems, in the center of attention of the primary organization. Meetings, particularly those in the large cities, are frequently poorly attended and improperly prepared. The primary organizations in the big cities, particularly those in the newly developed residential complexes, do not always adopt a differentiated approach to the various age and social groups.

A scientific substantiation, collective work, organization and creativity and efficiency have not become profoundly part of the style and methods of every committee and leadership, cadres and activists in the Fatherland Front. Excessive regulations and meetings, and requests for unnecessary written information and references have not been entirely eliminated.

Coordination between social organizations and movements has not been perfected to the extent of eliminating a duplication of functions and tasks and avoiding the overburdening of people with projects.

The resolutions of the 9th Congress concerning club facilities were not fully implemented. In a number of areas clubs remain unable to service social activities in places of residence.

On the basis of the report on restructuring the Fatherland Front and the report submitted by the National Council and the debates on both, the 9th Fatherland Front Congress has adopted the following

Resolution:

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech and, particularly, the concepts of the obshtina as the main territorial unit and self-governing community must become the guiding principle, the program for action in the work of the managements and organizations of the Fatherland Front. Their study and implementation must become the prime obligation of all workers, activists and members of the Fatherland Front.

The Fatherland Front must actively participate in the initiated process of deep restructuring of all areas of social life in order to ensure the implementation of the lofty objectives set by the 13th BCP Congress and the implementation of the strategic course of qualitatively new growth of the economy and other areas of social life based on the scientific and technical revolution.

The new stage in our social development demands a profound restructuring of the overall activities of the Fatherland Front. To this effect:

The Fatherland Front must display a new approach to ensure the even closer and more efficient coordination and interaction with the other social organizations and state and economic authorities in solving national and local problems;

The Fatherland Front must decisively upgrade its role in extensively involving the people in management and enhancing the social activeness of the population at home. It must become an active factor in the formulation and implementation of comprehensive programs for the development of obshtinas and for ensuring their self-government;

The Fatherland Front must steadily increase its contribution to the just solution of social problems and the satisfaction of the comprehensive needs and interests of the citizens;

The Fatherland Front must restructure its organization, from the primary organization to the National Council.

Intensifying the Role of the Fatherland Front in the Development of Socialist Democracy and People's Self-Government

The new stipulations on the comprehensive development and expansion of socialist democracy require the strong presence of the Fatherland Front in shaping the authorities of representative democracy, broadening their social base and developing direct democracy. The Fatherland Front must actively contribute to the gradual conversion from "rule in the name of the people" to "rule through the people." It must ensure the full application and further development of the democratic principles of the socialist electoral system and create better conditions for the real participation of the people in all stages of the electoral process. It must expand and strengthen the practice of nominating more candidates per electoral district. The Fatherland Front must contribute to the elimination of the elements of formalism; the discussion of the qualities of the candidates must be free and democratic, ensuring the broadest possible interested and exigent participation of the voters.

The questions, suggestions and instructions formulated at electoral meetings and assemblies must be significant. The decisive participation of the candidates, the Fatherland Front committees and the population must be ensured in formulating electoral programs and in their implementation.

The Fatherland Front must be persistent in the development and intensification of direct democracy and the full application of the Law on Referendums, particularly of local referendums and discussions of draft bills passed by people's councils. The responsibility of the Fatherland Front committees and organizations in eliminating formalism in preparations for and holding of general population meetings must be intensified.

The Fatherland Front National Council must make greater use of its right to initiate legislation and to organize the extensive participation of the people in drafting laws of great social significance.

The Fatherland Front must assume greater responsibility in the further application of the sociostate and state-social principles in the activities of the social management authorities and to expand and enrich its interaction with them.

Decisive improvements must be made in the interaction between the National Council of the Fatherland Front and the Council of Ministers, the ministries and other central departments and auxiliary agencies of the National Assembly, intensifying their mutual responsibilities for the prompt and qualitative implementation of jointly adopted resolutions and tasks.

The coordination between the Fatherland Front and law-enforcement authorities and other public organizations in observing law and order and in the struggle against negative phenomena must be drastically improved.

Fatherland Front Tasks in Making the Obshtinas Self-Governing Communities

The qualitatively new growth of the economy and the implementation of socioeconomic plans and assignments call for the restructuring of the Fatherland Front to be aimed at its further conversion into an efficient social factor in obshtina self-government. The joint activities of the Fatherland Front and the people's councils must be raised to a new qualitative level. The leading principle in this case must be the extensive involvement of the population in the implementation of plans and programs for the socioeconomic and spiritual development of the obshtinas and the comprehensive development of their material and technical base.

The Fatherland Front must actively promote efficient ties among neighboring okrugs and obshtinas and their development on the basis of associations and mutual assistance.

The Fatherland Front committees and organizations must show greater concern and assume greater responsibility for ensuring regular contacts between leading personalities and the population and strengthening the ties between elected officials and voters. The Fatherland Front must exercise its right to initiate recalls of elected officials who have not justified the trust of the people and have forsaken their qualities as people's representatives.

The Fatherland Front committees and organizations must become more active and persistent in ensuring regular reports by state and economic authorities to the population, particularly in the service industry, ensuring mass participation and openness, and hearing the views, critical remarks and suggestions of the citizens and promptly acting on legitimate ones.

It must develop a system for participation in keeping the population informed, studying public opinion and taking into consideration the needs and interests of the people.

The committees and organizations of the Fatherland Front must actively interfere in eliminating manifestations of bureaucracy, wasting the time of citizens and failing to satisfy their legitimate demands. The struggle against negative phenomena and the prevention of crime, violations and other antisocial actions must become their permanent task.

The Fatherland Front must increase its contribution to upgrading the efficiency of the state-social system relative to road traffic safety and standards and to protecting the life and health of the citizens from road accidents.

It must increase its participation in strengthening and broadening the activities of the voluntary units of working people and in creating and maintaining strong public order and discipline.

It must improve its guidance of and aid to comrades-in-arms and enhance their role and social influence.

It must promote the mass participation of the population in exercising comprehensive control over the observance of democratic standards and procedures by the social management authorities and creating an atmosphere of intolerance of violations of the social rights and interests of the citizens.

The Fatherland Front leadership must become more efficient in dealing with suggestions, reports, complaints and petitions submitted by the citizens.

Transferring socialist property to labor collectives for their management and control is of historical significance in intensifying their responsibility for the protection, development and increase of such property. In close interaction with the social organizations and labor collectives, the Fatherland Front must develop as an efficient factor in involving the population in the management of all social property.

The rights and responsibilities of Fatherland Front committees and organizations must be expanded in solving important social problems in the construction, allocation and maintenance of housing, the protection and exercise of the social rights of the family, health care, social assistance and the application of the principle of social justice.

The Fatherland Front must improve its work in developing and enriching the movement for building, improving and developing the hygiene of settlements and obshchinas. The campaign-style nature of such work must be eliminated and a harmonious living environment in settlements must become a constant daily concern. Prerequisites must be created for and a conversion from model settlements to model obshchinas must be ensured. The contribution of the Fatherland Front in building more housing by the enterprises themselves must be increased.

The Fatherland Front must intensify its coordinating and mobilizing activities in environmental protection and restoration. It must increase its concern for increasing, planting and preserving forests. It must provide systematic control and take socially to task anyone who violates environmental protection

legislation. It must launch extensive propaganda and educational activities in developing ecological standards in all Bulgarian citizens.

The Fatherland Front must enhance its activities aimed at developing a proper attitude on the part of the entire population to power-raw material resources in the country. It must be strictly demand the establishment of an efficient organization by the respective state and economic authorities in purchasing and efficiently utilizing secondary raw materials. Greater efforts must be displayed in developing the habits of conserving electric power, fuel and water by each family and citizen.

The protective functions of the Fatherland Front must acquire a new content and organization. Particular significance must be ascribed to defending the interests of consumers. Specific actions must be taken to improve comprehensive social services and to surmount weaknesses in supplying the population with an adequate amounts of goods and services of suitable quality and and steps taken against illegal price increases. Social initiative must be displayed in promoting services in settlements, particularly in small ones, and for the extensive utilization of individual population activity in the production of consumer goods and services.

The Fatherland Front commission and organizations must work for the intensive and steady development of public farming and the organization of brigades and the extensive use of the individual and family piece-rate system in the public sector. It must provide specific assistance in increasing the output of private plots by involving more households in such activities and improving production results on the basis of the application of contemporary agrotechnical means and leading experience. Efficient social control must be organized for the purpose of eliminating weaknesses and improving work in the production, purchasing and marketing of agricultural commodities. Joint work with cooperatives and with associations of bee-keepers, silk worm raisers and others must be intensified.

The Fatherland Front must display greater initiative in expanding and asserting in practical activities, on the basis of contracts between Fatherland Front management and people's councils, APK and other self-governing economic organizations, the timely and qualitative implementation of socioeconomic tasks. The organization and efficiency of brigade work at places of residence must be improved.

Restructuring Ideological and Educational Work and Enhancing the Role of the Human Factor

The Fatherland Front's tasks in ideological and educational activities must be determined, formulated and solved in the light of the strategic course of qualitatively new growth in the economy and all areas of social life.

The most important thing at present is making the fullest possible use of the ideological wealth of the 13th BCP Congress and 27th CPSU Congress in rearming all working people with the new concepts and approaches leading to a profound restructuring of society and enhancing the political standards of the people in accordance with the principles of socialist self-government.

Ideological and education activities at places of residence must such as to develop a mass social consciousness in the spirit of the reconstruction. It must create in all citizens convictions, a new way of thinking and habit and a feeling of direct interest in and personal responsibility for the efficient utilization of public property. It must develop and assert moral and psychological qualities, such as a sense of the new, readiness for change and active participation in it, and a feeling of responsibility, order and discipline.

Through its ideological and educational activities the Fatherland Front must participate in identifying contradictions and problems in the development of processes and phenomena at places of residence and contribute to their solution. Applying the tools of truth, openness, criticism and self-criticism, it must educate the masses in a spirit of political activeness and responsibility.

The organization of mass political education and agitation-explanatory work must be accompanied by specific practical steps in solving urgent vital problems. It must promote what is new and progressive in the organization of work and the way of life in settlements.

Man must become the focal point of ideological and educational work, with his specific needs, interests and moods and his concepts of the values of life. Individual work must be developed as the most important form of ideological influence.

Ideological and educational activities must contribute to the creation of real prerequisites which will enable the citizen to feel that he is the master not only of his job but also the territory in which he lives. It is particularly necessary today to value and comprehensively to support people who display a spirit of innovations and civic valor. Irreconcilable struggle must be waged against those who adapt themselves to situations, idlers and anyone who tries to give less to and take more from society.

Work on the patriotic upbringing of the people must be intensified, as the most important task of the Fatherland Front and the core of communist upbringing at the present stage. We must increase the study of the past, present and future of our native areas, develop the study of ethnic origins and to enhance the patriotic and emotional influence of folk and family celebrations and ceremonies. Systematic and aggressive work must be carried out to eliminate national nihilism and veneration of things foreign. The feeling of national pride and duty to the socialist homeland must be enhanced through the entire content and all available ways and means of ideological influence. Socialist internationalism must be defended and proved through action and the adoption of an active civic stance.

The further increase of the love and respect for the CPSU and the USSR and strengthening the friendship and cooperation among the members of the socialist community must assume a central position in international upbringing. Bulgarian citizens must be educated in a spirit of high political consciousness and vigilance and the ability to assess international and domestic situations on the base of clear class-oriented positions and to

support the ideals and spiritual values of socialism. In accordance with the new realities in the contemporary world, a new style of political thinking must be asserted and active struggle for peace and against preparations for nuclear war must be waged.

In coordination with the social, state and economic authorities and organizations, the Fatherland Front committees and organizations must display new strength in promoting their educational and organizing work in enhancing the role of the socialist family. The mental barrier to having and raising more children must be removed. The labor, moral and political development of the growing generation and the shaping of individual qualities, such as patriotism, collectivism and ordinary human virtues, must become targets of lasting and consistent ideological influence.

The struggle against abuse of alcohol and tobacco must be enhanced systematically and consistently on a national basis in order to protect the health of present and future generations. A sober upbringing must become an important part in the overall ideological and education activities of the Fatherland Front and the public organizations.

Positive changes must be made in the mass cultural and holiday-ceremonious activities of Fatherland Front committees and organizations. Together with the councils for spiritual development and the remaining social organizations, they must work energetically and steadily to enrich spiritual life in the obshtinas and promote the aesthetic and moral enhancement of the individual. They must contribute to decisively upgrading the role and significance of people's libraries as efficient centers of culture in settlements.

Increasingly, ideological and educational work must become the project of all Fatherland Front committees and managements, with the participation of leading personalities, elected officials and respected public figures. The ideological units of the Fatherland Front must be strengthened with highly skilled and trained cadres well familiar with economics, social policy, law, philosophy, literature and the arts. Audio-visual and other contemporary technical facilities must be used more extensively.

The Fatherland Front committees and organizations must continue to maintain steady and close ties and to interact with commanders and political workers in the Bulgarian People's Army and the border, construction, internal and transport troops in strengthening the unbreakable unity and love between the people and their armed forces.

The Fatherland Front managements and organizations must strengthen their interaction with the central and local mass information media and make fuller use of their possibilities for work among the population.

The newspaper OTECHESTVEN FRONT, the periodicals OTECHESTVO, SEMEYSTVO I UCHILISHTE, RODOPI and ZASHTITA NA PRIRODATA, the newspaper NOV PUT and the "Fatherland Front" Bulletin and the Fatherland Front publishing house must develop into an even more active factor in the restructuring and updating of society and its democratization in developing a proper public opinion; they must criticize and help to surmount negative phenomena. They must formulate

and work on Fatherland Front problems more systematically, fully and competently.

Restructuring Fatherland Front Organizational and Cadre Work

Organizational activities must be restructured and conditions created for the Fatherland Front to develop as a sociopolitical organization and a nationwide movement which would blend together the joint activities of communists, united agrarians, nonparty people and members of all generations. Restructuring in organizational activities and the work style and methods of management must be such as to ensure the development of the Fatherland Front on an autonomous basis and its assertion as a social support of the territorial self-governing units and their authorities, and as a school for self-government by the population.

The main trend in the work of Fatherland Front cadres and activists must be that of restructuring the primary organizations and developing new forms of primary organizations. The primary organizations must become areas of full social expression for all citizens. Through their comprehensive activities they must promote self-government and discuss and make suggestions in solving problems triggered by the needs of the people, their interests and their aspirations.

The primary organizations must set up commissions, clubs, hobby groups and other autonomous forms of work involving the various population strata. Efforts must be made to include all citizens by skillfully organizing various manifestations and satisfying their political, social, economic, spiritual, sports and other interests.

The role of the primary organization meetings and the general assemblies of the population must be enhanced, as a suitable form of development of self-government and a place for freely voicing opinions on all problems which affect the people.

The Fatherland Front managements and interaction with house council organizations must strengthen their ties and autonomous authorities of public self-government of housing collectives.

The Fatherland Front district and rural committees must guide and help the primary organizations in their efforts to upgrade the political and labor activeness of the population for the implementation of socioeconomic programs and tasks at their place of residence.

The role and responsibility of obshtina (rayon) Fatherland Front committees are enhanced under the new conditions. They must make their real contribution to strengthening and developing the obshtinas as basic self-governing people's organizations. Their initiative in the direct participation of the population in the development of the settlements must be decisively enhanced.

The obshtina Fatherland Front leaderships must display greater independence and initiative in order to be able to develop the work of the primary units without excessive regulations. The extensive use of the voluntary principle

and the establishment of commissions and other units and aktivs must be the main feature in the reorganization of obshtina Fatherland Front structures.

The obshtina committees must systematically promote improvements in management and the assistance given to district, rural and primary organizations by applying a differentiated and specific approach.

The okrug committees must improve their work style and methods by upgrading the competence, efficiency, discipline, initiative and creativity of the cadres and the aktiv. The organizational and political activities of the committees and organizations must be most closely related to the tasks stemming from the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution and the party's course toward a qualitatively new growth. They must provide full support to the obshtina committees.

The structure of the okrug Fatherland Front committees must be reorganized through the creation of commissions based on the okrug's tasks, activities and specifics and in accordance with the party's approaches to the development of territorial units.

The okrug, obshtina (rayon), district and rural committees must engage in systematic, specific and comprehensive activities in involving in active efforts at their place of residence of cadres who are knowledgeable and willing, who show great idea-mindedness and enjoy a high reputation in the eyes of the public. The process of renovating cadres and involving more nonparty people in Fatherland Front managements must continue. The Fatherland Front must organize the systematic training of cadres with a view to mastering the new party concepts and laws, upgrading the level of organizational and political work and adopting a new approach in thinking and acting in the implementation of the major tasks of our time.

Efforts must be made to stimulate Fatherland Front activists and ensure a greater social recognition of their efforts.

The development of the Fatherland Front as an autonomous organization and movement and the extensive development of internal organizational democracy also require a restructuring of the Fatherland Front National Council. Commissions for basic activities and problems must be set up as essentially new auxiliary bureau agencies. They must include noted public figures, specialists, scientific workers and representatives of state agencies and social and self-governing economic organizations.

The National Council must set up a unit for scientific and information services which, together with the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management, the Union of Scientific Workers, the BAN Institute of Sociology and other scientific institutes, would deal with problems of social activities and of socialist collectives in residential areas.

The Fatherland Front must improve its coordination with the other social organizations and state and economic agencies through the application of new approaches and mechanisms which would truly and interestedly involve all population strata in solving important national and local problems.

The activities of the Fatherland Front National Council Presidium must acquire a new and even richer content. The presidium must become an efficient authority in coordinating the efforts of state and public agencies in the discussion, resolution and joint implementation of basic problems.

More persistent and systematic work must be done for the creation and efficient utilization of joint club and sports facilities at places of residence, consistent with contemporary aesthetic and cultural trends and requirements of scientific and technical progress.

Active International Efforts

The difficult situation in the world demands improvements in the international activities of the Fatherland Front. Bilateral and multilateral ties and cooperation with progressive and democratic fronts, organizations, parties and movements aimed at promoting social progress and safeguarding peace must be expanded.

The Fatherland Front is making its contribution to the development of a broad antiwar and antinuclear front in support of the new peace program of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact members in safeguarding life and peace on earth. More persistent efforts must be made to popularize among the public the idea of converting the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons and for supporting this concept by the various fronts and democratic forces in the Balkan nations.

In its activities, the Fatherland Front must continue to help the peoples fighting for their national independence and for freedom and social progress.

With the use of modern science and technology, foreign information activities and propaganda must be intensified in popularizing the accomplishments and advantages of real socialism in Bulgaria.

Work with the population in collecting funds for the National Foundation for Peace and Solidarity and their efficient use must be continued.

On behalf of the millions of Fatherland Front members, the 10th Fatherland Front Congress expresses the confidence that, under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in the new historical stage in our development, the Fatherland Front, which has embodied the nationwide unity among communists, united agrarians and nonparty people, will work even harder to mobilize the efforts of the entire Bulgarian people in the implementation of the stipulations of the 13th BCP Congress on the further upsurge of our socialist homeland, the Bulgarian People's Republic.

5003

CSO: 2200/103

EMINENT WRITER CALLS FOR BROADER FREEDOM OF OPINION

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 22 May 87 p 3

[Article by Stefan Prodev: "Taboo and Control—Viewpoints"]

[Text] The problem of ideological and social control over the processes and phenomena of social life is one of the complex problems involving the guidance of the human intelligence. With the abundance of topics and subtopics it poses, it is not only overwhelming, but intimidating as well. Unlike crude pressure on the mind, this control is in maximum measure intellectual contact with the individual or collective, and this burdens it with most difficult psychological and moral tasks. It is an activity in many dimensions and with many goals aimed directly at human behavior at a time of complex social and political changes. Ideological and social control are, therefore, a kind of art of coming to know and improving man, of positively humanizing his social nature.

Unfortunately, this truth is still not completely perceived and in practice there are instances of perversion. There still are cases where control does not guide, but rather represses intelligence, where aggression of the postulate prevails over free opinion. This not only limits its creative potentialities, but also violates its very character and results in profound ideological and moral distortions. Below we shall dwell on just one of these cases, for I think it is typical. I refer to the so-called "taboos" in social science and artistic thought as well as in individual sciences where facts are made to conform with or depend upon undisguised politics. I refer to those "prohibited areas" where thought with difficulty makes its way, menaced by the mob law not only of individuals, but also of entire social groups, honestly but naively professing long-since compromised principles.

I realize that I am raising a delicate question, for the opinion still exists that it is the veto on certain facts, categories and spheres of our past and present life that is the highest exemplification of ideological and social control. There are quite a few people who are convinced that the frankly stated truth is not always beneficial, that the search for it and the clarification of it are a kind of digging into the "atypical," a sign of "unhealthy attitudes," of "antisocial" subjectivity. There is no need to prove that these people which succor them are the offspring of already-refuted practice, that by control they apparently mean dictation over thought and its delimitation into dogmas and clichés, which simultaneously pervert and debauch it. They

apparently do not suspect that every "taboo" represents destruction of living cells, a cancerous focus; it is not simply the cutting out of an isolated thought, but a banning of an entire thought process. In scattered cases it borders on intellectual crime. That is why the question of the so-called "taboos" is little short of basic if we want to find the true place of ideological and social control in present-day life. Today this control can have nothing in common with dogmatic locking up of the truth, with hiding it under the bushel of some well-concocted but unsubstantiated "necessity." If we consider control not as a prohibition, but as guidance of social interests and processes, the most inoffensive "taboo" (if, indeed, there are such) becomes an antisocial and anti-intellectual act. Unless this is realized, much of our political and moral efforts for revolutionary thought and development will be gone with the wind.

What gives rise to, and what maintains the "taboo" system? Some discover it in the interests of the specific political moment and in the play of these interests. Others are inclined to explain it by those social difficulties in development that still have no ideological and moral explanation, while yet others frankly consider it to be a convenient way of skipping over awkward questions of the times that call in question imposed dogmas. And these latter explanations harbor something rational. But what, in my opinion, discloses the entire essence of "taboo" is fear. Fear of the truth. Of truth as history and of truth as the present. Of truth for us and of truth for others. Of truth as an ideological, social and artistic generalization of conflicts which are unresolved, and of errors which have already been made. As can be seen, fear is many-sided and all-embracing. It has not only its individual fate, but social roots as well. We are in it, and it is in us. Maybe what I have said sounds crude, but let us not delude ourselves; fear is a fact and can be conquered only with antifear. If we want to turn control of ourselves and of the objective world from naked compulsion into a creative process, from crude ideological work into ideologized psychology, we must see things as they are. The "taboos" in some particular area cannot be defeated unless we personally "defeat ourselves," as far as they are concerned. Lenin taught us that Marxism, i.e., communist doctrine about society and man, is not a postulate, is not a frozen sun, is not a still life. It is truth! Marxism is a movement, the continuous rediscovery of the world and therefore it is totally alien to secrets that excite fear, to "blank spots" in knowledge, to strictly guarded intellectual and social zones. Marxism's historic chance lies in free contact with facts and phenomena, in reasoning, in quests for evidence even where one still "shoots" on sight. Therefore, every conquered "taboo" is a victory in favor of Marxism. Older people well know how much ideological blood flowed in order for us to liberate ourselves from some "sacred prohibitions" in- and outside ourselves, in order to be able to speak freely about them today. That is the way it will surely be in the future as well, for fear still has not been conquered in all of us. Fear of the truth which is fearless.

The question I am raising has become increasingly timely of late. And this is not accidental. The breaking of some old seals and the exhortation to openness, to new thinking, come more and more specifically into open conflict with the "prohibition," with the now-lifted right of confidence. That is why it is sad that taboo problems, taboo facts, taboo phenomena, taboo assessments, taboo names and even some taboo topics still have dominion over us. Today we can,

indeed, delve into many more areas than yesterday, but even today there are barriers that obstruct us--names and fates that we steer clear of. For some, this is natural, little short of a law of established ideological harmony, but for all who think seriously there is something dangerous in this fact.

Not for a different reason, but mainly for the sake of pseudoscientific or sentimental "taboos," we still do not dare to speak frankly about a number of fundamental facts and phenomena of our national life, we skip over entire periods of party history, we support erroneous analyses, we keep valuable archives in the dark or under lock and key, we beat about the bush or pretend to be ignorant. There are many examples. Let us recall only the taboos that weigh heavily on the Stamboliyski administration, the leftist-sectarianism policy, the intellectual and moral traumas from the cult of the personality, the shortage of memoirs and the insincerity of our memoir writing. Enough of this history, someone will say. Very well, here is an up-to-date example--mass culture. And another--the social cynicism of some social groups. I am deliberately not referring to the more general Marxist problems where such Marxist concepts as class and caste, for example, either have no tie-in at all with today or the tie-in is hedged by thousands of qualifications. Yet these concepts have their roots in practical experience irrespective of our progressive development. The examples I am pointing out are perhaps not the most felicitous, but I am convinced that they are sufficiently forceful to alarm us. Hovering over every one of them is the shadow of a "taboo" that harasses us. Harasses us, for there is no greater torment than remaining silent. Remaining silent when you know or are seeking the truth is great drama--both personal and public. That is why a "taboo" is something more than an elementary prohibition. It is a state that demoralizes. And wherever there is demoralization, ideological and social control lose their effectiveness. You cannot control, i.e., guide, a phenomenon unless you discuss it openly. You are not a Leninist unless you know every line of Lenin, unless you can argue with Lenin from the level of today's development. But around Lenin so many "taboos" have accumulated that I sometimes wonder whether we know the genius. The same holds true as well for Georgi Dimitrov, whose duel with fascism in Leipzig cannot and must not be regarded as an exhaustive account of him. And his struggle for the popular front and for the fate of the Comintern against the dogmatists? And his activity during the war? The questions are not rhetorical. They await an answer. And it surely will turn up one day, for even the best-guarded "taboo" is ultimately doomed to perish. Time is stronger than it is. Time and man, who, hunting a glimpse in the shards, finds the best way to the future.

The true triumph of ideological work is in the discovery of the truth about man, about life. That is why it is hard work. Marx compared it with the work of the performing artist, in the broadest sense of the word. In it politics is fused with science to become an art. In this sense, ideological work is not only hard, but also delicate, easily vulnerable if improperly used. There are many social forces that endeavor to influence it and exploit it for their own purposes. Some of these are social and cultural minuses even though they are related to progress. It is precisely these forces that rely on "taboo." It is their weapon in the battle for the psyche. Through it they conceal themselves from the truth about them. They establish a monopoly of facts, which by right are the property of all. Here is where ideological control over the psyche is

called upon to rescue ideological work from colonialization. The subjective disposition of assets must be placed under the control of the object. And this means discarding "taboo" as idea and practice. It is an anachronism which we must part with. Only thus will our thought receive new energy and move forward. And only thus will control over the development of society escape the elementary prohibitions, to become a motive power of social forces, to become a mighty source of ideas which we expect and without which we cannot. . .

6474

CSO: 2200/109

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM DISCUSSES CURRENT ISSUES

Prague RIDE PRAVO in Czech 22 May 87 p 7

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)--The extraordinary interest in the revolutionary restructuring in the Soviet Union and the effort to use all means to achieve peaceful co-existence among countries with a different social order can be said to have been the main pillar of the 3-day international symposium held in the editorial offices of the journal OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU [Issues of Peace and Socialism], which was attended by representatives of 60 Communist and workers' parties and international organizations, which ended in Prague on Thursday.

The theme The Great October and the Key Issues of the Current Epoch opened a representative discussion concerning the state and prospects of international communist and workers' movement and the innovative roles of communists under various conditions.

As the chairman of the last day's meeting, representative of PSDS (Polish United Workers' Party) Jerzy Szuk, said in his closing remarks, the discussion of these main issues was lively and open. Its tone was set by the new political thinking. The presentations by those attending mirrored the requirement for daring and openness in searching for the best ways to develop socialism. Attention, therefore, was given mainly to the problems of improving socialism at the present time. The new thinking was reflected in the discussions also by the fact that problems of theory were analyzed from the standpoint of present needs --practice of the socialist build-up, class struggle in capitalist countries, and national liberation movements.

Marxist scientists and public officials from four continents gave similarly detailed evaluation of other problems of today's world: how to save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe, ecological safety, struggle against hunger, and efforts to eliminate indebtedness.

The symposium became an example of how to exchange opinions--even if different ones--on the most complex issues. Its importance lies primarily in showing how to bring about an exchange of opinions between sister communist and workers' parties in all areas of their activities, and at the same time reach unity on principal issues and cooperation in the common struggle for the victory of socialist ideas.

In the last day of the meeting Ladislav Novotny, member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and rector of the Advanced School of Politics of the Central Committee of the KCS, made his contribution by discoursing on the historical initiative of socialism in formulating new thinking. The new thinking in socialist countries, he emphasized among other things, is manifested in the fact that we must and want to carry out the basic restructuring, which encompasses all spheres of society—economic, political, and intellectual. It has already become clear, said L. Novotny, that this process will lead to many changes in the socialist countries, and will have a positive influence on the character of the present era on a world-wide scale.

Henrik Bang, secretary of the Danish Communist Party, concentrated on the role of communists in the struggle against nuclear danger and the arms race. The role of leftist forces in Western Europe in preventing the danger of war was discussed by a member of the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party, Jan Debrouwere. A member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Ganko Ganev, devoted his remarks to the development of the Lenin concept of peaceful coexistence.

As is stated in the closing report on the symposium, the participants called the meeting an important contribution to the strengthening of the cooperation of sister parties in the area of theoretical ideas.

12605/12859

CSO: 2400/302

TV DIRECTOR SPEAKS OF NEED FOR TRUTH

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 May 87 p 4

[Speech by Jiri Adamec, director of Czechoslovak Television, in the discussion at the Third Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Dramatic Artists]

[Text] The appeal of socialism must be incontrovertibly exemplified—we must prove that our truth is closer to human dignity and that the future belongs precisely to us. We are convinced about this and we believed this without any reservations; naturally, we still believe it, but we must do much more: We must translate our faith into reality, we must demonstrate it before the whole world and to the whole world.

Each of us must begin with himself, in his enterprise and also in his own country. How can we, each of us, bring our contribution in this historical struggle? We must be able to ask this question, but more than that—we must be able to adopt honesty as our "best policy." Together with those who make decisions about the fulfillment of the urgent issues of our time we all must search for common answers to those questions. We are facing great problems with our dramatists, with the authors' heartland, and with outdated regulations and standards; these problems stem mainly from bureaucratic control particularly in industrial production. We must pinpoint these problems and resolutely answer the following questions: What is constraining our stage directors? Why do they collaborate so opportunistically with authors? Why are our authors skirting crucial issues, above all those related to our own era? How could we ever believe that it is enough to concoct a conventional story, add to it some settings and some pseudo-controversy that resolves nothing and thus, that does not hurt anyone, top it with a political happy end, present this quasi-appeal as an ersatz catharsis, and think that our drama is in a great shape.

In fact, our era is so dramatic and so rife with dramatic conflicts. We must answer the following questions: Why, despite all the tangible technological development, we have less and less time for really creative work of our performers? Why our directors in particular are slipping into nothing more than hackneyed routine and have given up genuine creativity? Why are our actors rushing from one "racket" to another? And as a matter of fact, why do they refer to their free-lance jobs with that dreadful expression "racket"?...And so on and so forth.

After all, whatever our particular areas of dramatic arts may be, all our common endeavor must serve our common cause, our common struggle—the daily struggle for national consciousness and for the consciousness of our audiences. In fact, our work must convince our viewer that his hopes—the hopes of his own life—will not be disappointed. I am aware that this is not, and will not be, an easy task. The viewer is what he is. He lives in a certain country; he has some ideas and some specific experience. Naturally, it is of no use to tell him anything that is beyond the horizon of his hopes. Merciless experience tells us that so long as any of us—or, to avoid generalization, almost any of us—wants to buy a top quality article for his daily use, he does not look for goods made in Czechoslovakia, but as a rule, for merchandise from that restricted domain of the Taren joint stock company. The worst thing about it is that this does not involve only daily necessities but that the same situation prevails in our culture, as confirmed by the sales of books by Western authors and by the popularity of films from the West, while our audiences intentionally ignore in particular the excellent production of the Soviet film-makers. Statistical indicators of the viewing and popularity of imported TV programs prove the same thing. This fact cannot leave us indifferent. How can we remedy this situation? How can we reverse this trend? Neither restrictions nor wishful thinking will help us. The only thing that can help us is better work we will produce, not only as separate contributions but as a powerful current of daily achievements of the highest standards...

9004/9815

CSO: 2409/296

PUDYSZ ON MISDEMEANOR RULINGS, WESTERN ATTACKS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Apr 87 p 4

[Interview with Gen Bryg Zbigniew Pudysz, Internal Affairs Deputy Minister for Misdemeanor Councils, by Jerzy A. Salecki: "A Little 'Themis'?"]

[Text] [Question]: I would like to begin this interview without the appropriate congratulations, although it is just this April that marks the 35th anniversary of the creation of the councils on misdemeanors.

What is it really like? On the one hand, the scope of matters handled by the councils has been expanding for years, which shows that the rank and responsibilities of the councils is becoming increasingly greater, but, at the same time, even the authors of the specialized periodical ZAGADNIENIA WYKROCZEN, uses the term "Minor Themis," in writing about the activity of the councils. Small means that we can conjecture whether they are not worse, not rising to the level of the "great" justice handed down by the general courts.

[Answer]: In Poland, as in the overwhelming majority of other countries, practical considerations have caused illegal and penal acts to be categorized as either felonies or misdemeanors. In the Polish system of the administration of justice, we have someone appear in court for felonies defined in the penal code or in other regulations. In the case where an act of lesser social danger is committed, that is, a misdemeanor, the perpetrator faces a council responsible for meeting the requirements of the misdemeanor code. The division into courts and misdemeanor councils in no way undermines the ideas or operation of one system of justice in our country, governed by the legal standards in effect. There is one Themis. Only the cases are different. This is why we sometimes use the term "Minor Themis" for the misdemeanor councils.

[Question]: The programs of some radio stations in the West that broadcast for Poles continually express the view that the expansion of the range of cases reviewed by the councils is a cunning step by the authorities, who want to limit civil rights and pass judgment on citizens "quietly" in the course of administrative proceedings, while pilfering from their pockets by the way.

[Answer]: The ill will and falsehoods which adversaries of socialist Poland use against our system of prosecution and administration of justice of course

in certain situations apply also to the councils. There is an attempt here to exploit not so much even the naivete of potential listeners as their lack of familiarity with the current laws. At any rate the rights of the accused, if we limit ourselves to this issue alone, when he stands before the misdemeanor council are by no means any less than the rights of the accused in a common court of law. The proceedings, presentation of proof, two-instance system, equality of the parties, right of the accused to participate in his defense, open hearing or trial, secrecy and independence of testimony—all these are only examples of the elements that confirm the hypothesis that the accused facing the misdemeanor council is in no worse situation than a person facing a judge, but the council itself is not some special sort of administrative court but a particular sort of body to defend law and order.

[Question]: A particular sort?

[Answer]: Yes, indeed! As I already mentioned, the misdemeanor councils operate 100 percent with unpaid volunteers. The members are "ordinary" citizens which the people's councils select from a group of candidates. During the last 11 terms, 19.2 percent of the people chosen were college graduates and 58.4 percent, secondary school graduates. The councils consist of representatives of the white-collar workers (nearly 58 percent), blue-collar workers (about 19 percent), retired people and annuitants (nearly 13 percent), and also farmers (about 8 percent). The percentage of council members who do not belong to the party is consistently increasing. The sociovocational make-up and the cross-section of membership in political and social organizations reflect not only relations in society but also trends in the changes occurring in our country. After all, the misdemeanor councils allow many thousands of citizens to participate in the exercise of authority and are an expression of the idea of expanding socialist democracy, delegating authority "downward." The moral training element is not unimportant here. The councils usually deal with common cases that occur, cases that are painful and tedious, ones that are especially annoying to people. The fact that in instances prescribed by law it is possible to judge the guilt of a person breaking the law not only quickly but right in his own environment or neighborhood increases the prestige of the justice system, gives satisfaction to those harmed or people near them eager for law and order, and has an impact on people's behavior and attitudes.

[Question]: While recognizing the merits you have mentioned, let me express a doubt: expanding the forms of democracy is the wisest possible action, but is it a good thing for amateurs to be deciding judging guilt and innocence?

[Answer]: I hope that your doubts will be dispelled by concrete statistics and substantive information. Among the members of the misdemeanor councils, 7.1 percent have degrees in law or administration. The regulations say that only people with such education may serve as chairman or vice-chairman. No less important, in the concern for the quality of the verdicts, since 1966 special advisers have been employed for council affairs, all lawyers who handle the legal organization of the misdemeanor councils. Finally, let me add that the system of training, which has been in operation for years and has been expanded, is conducted solely by specialists. Let us fill in the picture with publications for the council members: the periodical ZAGADNIENIA

WYKROCZEN and professional publications. Research testifies to the results: the correctness of the judgments handed down by the councils is not different from the indices for correct verdicts in regional courts.

[Question]: But the category of cases is different.

[Answer]: This does not mean that we should take misdemeanors lightly. For example, in 1986 the councils handled more than 242,000 cases of disrupting the order on public roads, 86,000 cases related to breaking the peace, and 40,000 cases related to regulations for the protection of property. The councils defended the interests of consumers and handed down decisions in cases where public health standards had been violated or citizens had failed to discharge administrative duties.

[Question]: Opinions on the severity of the misdemeanor councils are not isolated.

[Answer]: The penalties are adequate in terms of the guilt, the categorical seriousness of the act. The judgments fit the law. Are they harsh? In 1986, the year I was talking about before, of the more than 670,000 proceedings begun on misdemeanor cases, a jail sentence (of up to 3 months) was handed down for 5,079 persons, or 0.8 percent of the total number sentenced, and one sentence out of every three was suspended. Some 29,365 people had their freedom limited, and in more than 553,000 cases a fine was imposed. More than 11,500 persons facing the councils received a reprimand, and this penalty was considered to be sufficiently severe. There were also additional penalties: nearly 80,000 judgments were made public, and in more than 156,000 cases the right to drive a vehicle, usually a mechanical one, was suspended.

[Question]: Referring again to the Polish-language programs from the Western radio stations: Judgments concerned not only jail sentences and fines but also confiscation of automobiles.

[Answer]: I will expand my answer, because there is nothing to hide here. From 1 November 1986 until 16 March of this year, the regional councils examined 194 misdemeanor cases which had previously been felonies for breaking the peace. Of these, 192 were punished and two found not guilty. Fines alone were applied as punishment, and they varied as to the amount. In 49 percent of all cases, a fine of 50,000 zlotys was imposed. For 162 of those punished, the councils called for the confiscation of the object of the misdemeanor, making the verdict public, vindictive damages. They decided to confiscate nine automobiles which, for example, had been used to transport illegal publications in order to distribute them, unregistered printing equipment, publications issued abroad provoking social disruption or in some other manner interfering with legal order.

Let us say straightforwardly: The fact that certain illegal acts against the public order which used to be felonies have become misdemeanors is the result of the continuing stabilization of social and political life in the country, which makes it possible to alter the assessment of the degree of social danger from such acts. The reclassification of these acts as misdemeanors is an expression of socialist humanism. Appearance in court has been

replaced by the much milder appearance before the councils. This is the result of the state officials' attempt, in the name of national understanding, to eliminate the remaining but very limited manifestations aimed at causing social unrest not by repression but by the most limited possible application of penal measures. Although they are no longer any real threat to the state, the perpetrators cannot act with impunity. In keeping with the general penal policy, the councils are using penalties aimed at rehabilitation. Repression in the form of jail sentences is applied only in those cases where the law specifically calls for it. A fine is painful, of course, but is it not wiser, to "hit someone in the wallet" than to send him to prison? This is a rhetorical question. And now to those cars. The councils called for confiscation in nine cases. You might call this a severe penalty, but after all the owners of those cars knew perfectly well that they were breaking the law and that they risked just that, confiscation of the object facilitating their committing the illegal act.

[Question]: Thank you for your answer, Minister. It explains a great deal on about the substance and activity of the councils. As a footnote, it is striking to see the role of people not working in the group of those who wage "politics" breaking Polish law.

[Answer] It is also striking to see the role of the "professionals," that is, the people who professionally oppose the normalization of life and the ideas of the national understanding. They represent a negligible fraction of the total number of cases we have been talking about, and although they are given a great deal of coverage in the West, the statistics speak for themselves. Our problems and difficulties are the struggle against alcohol abuse, dishonesty, ruffians, and other forms of social pathology. The misdemeanor councils operate to make this struggle effective. There are more than 35,000 citizens working in the councils at the first and second instance, people who work as volunteers to defend the peace, order, and quiet, protecting the law that serves all of us.

[Question]: Summing up, it would be correct to conclude that during the past 35 years the misdemeanor councils have served well and will continue to serve society and the state.

[Answer]: Of course! But this does not mean that we have to end the interview by limiting ourselves to a balance-sheet. There are many problems to be solved. The rank and responsibility of the councils are increasing, but at the same time important social processes are taking place. We should consider the need to enrich the ways that the councils can exert a moral impact. Would it not be worthwhile to transfer a larger number of cases to conciliatory commissions? Should we not still more frequently set up the sessions in plants and places of employment? Should we not expand the catalogue of unconventional penalties? These are only a few of the questions which merit attention and discussion in larger groups of people interested in public life, democracy, and that "Minor Thesis" protecting our rights and laws.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank members of the misdemeanor councils for their past activity and wish them satisfaction from discharging their social duties well.

[Question]: Thank you for the interview, Minister Pudysz.

10790

CSO:2600/633

PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDAR 13-26 APRIL 1987

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 9, 6 May 87 p 21

[Unattributed article: "Party Chronicle: 13-26 April 1987"]

[Text] Sessions of the Central Committee Politburo:

14 Apr

The Politburo:

-- assessed the implementation of the resolution of the Third Central Committee Plenum;

-- examined the theses of the second stage of the reform, drafted by the Secretariat of the Commission for the Economic Reform;

-- considered the question of direct cooperation between Polish and Soviet enterprises and R&D centers and evaluated the implementation of the Polish-Soviet longrange [agreement] for comprehensive science and technology progress.

The friendly visit of Todor Zhivkov to Poland and the agreements reached as a result were highly praised.

Conferences and Meetings:

13 Apr

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received representatives of the engineer and technician community -- delegates to the 21st Congress of Polish Technicians. The meeting was attended by the Central Committee secretaries Marian Wozniak, Tadeusz Porebski, and Zbigniew Michalek, and Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Szalajda.

-- The Law, Legality, and Moral Health Commission under the Central Committee considered the draft decree on the citizens' rights spokesman and examined the tentative schedule of the government's legislative projects until 1990. Its session was chaired by Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek. Politburo

Member and CKKR [Central Party Control and Audit Commission] Chairman Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak was present.

-- Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski met with a group of student cultural activists.

14 Apr

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Józef Czyrek received the Chairman of the World Esperanto Union Professor Humphrey Tonkin and representatives of the Polish Esperanto Union. The meeting was attended by the Speaker of the Sejm Roman Malinowski, the patron of the Congress.

15 Apr

-- A joint session of the Culture and International commissions of the Central Committee discussed the project for establishing the National Foundation for Polish Culture. The deliberations were chaired by Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski and also attended by the Politburo members Central Committee Secretary Józef Czyrek and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski.

-- The Youth, Physical Culture, and Tourism Commission of the Central Committee discussed the status of physical culture and tourism in Poland and their role in the process of upbringing youth.

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Zbigniew Michalek received the directors of CHŁOPSKA DROGA. The publication's program assumptions and principal policy orientations for the next few years were discussed.

16 Apr

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski met, in the presence of Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner and First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee Bogumił Ferencztajn, with a group of Sejm Deputies from Electoral District No 23, Katowice Voivodship. Problems of the industrial agglomeration in the Silesian Basin were discussed.

-- The International Commission of the Central Committee discussed the draft program for developing ideological cooperation between the PZPR and the CPSU until 1990 and the PZPR's activities in promoting the implementation of the decisions of the Warsaw Conference of the Central Committee Secretaries for International and Ideological Affairs under the Fraternal Parties. Prefatory addresses were delivered by Józef Czyrek and Ernest Kucza.

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski met with the Chairman of the State Office for Youth and Sports, Hungarian People's Republic, Gábor Deák, during the latter's sojourn in Poland.

-- The general meeting of the Prasa-Książka-Ruch Workers' Publishing Cooperative, attended by members of its Supervising Council, discussed the

performance of the cooperative's new economic-financial system. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

17 Apr

On the eve of the 95th anniversary of the birth of Boleslaw Bierut, a solemn wreath-laying ceremony was held at his grave in the Powazki Communal Cemetery in Warsaw. On behalf of the party leadership, flowers were laid on the grave by a delegation headed by Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek, Vice Chairman of the CKKKR Jerzy Wilk, and Director of the Socio-Legal Department of the Central Committee Andrzej Gdula.

21 Apr

-- On the eve of the 42nd anniversary of the signing of the Polish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance a gala concert was held in the Congress Room of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw. It was attended by the following members of the party leadership: Prime Minister Zbigniew Mesaner, Jan Glowczyk, Marian Orzechowski, Janusz Kubasiewicz, and Henryk Bednarski. Speeches were given by Politburo Member and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski and the USSR Ambassador to Poland Vladimir Brovikov.

-- Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski received a delegation of the Central Board of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society, headed by Deputy Minister of the Ukrainian SSR Maria Orlik, sojourning in Poland on the occasion of the 42nd anniversary of the signing of the Polish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance.

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Zbigniew Michalek received a delegation of agricultural economists headed by Director of the Agricultural Policy Department under the Secretariat of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee Du Runsheng [name as published].

22 Apr

-- At the Central Control and Audit Commission was held a control-inspiring [as published] talk with the Mayor of Krakow Tadeusz Salwa. Its principal topic was the status of housing construction in Krakow City Voivodship. The meeting was chaired by Politburo Member and CKKR Chairman Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

-- Editor-in-Chief of PRAVDA Viktor Afanas'yev, visiting Poland at the invitation of the editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU, was received by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

23 Apr

-- In Gdanek the 26th Congress of Polish Technicians began its deliberations. First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Zbigniew Mesaner attended.

-- The CKKR Presidium examined the results of the inspection, conducted in five voivodships, of the implementation of the resolution of the 10th Congress on strengthening the role of the working class in the party and state and strengthening basic party organizations.

25 Apr

-- The Central Committee's Taskforce on Deserving Worker Movement Activists held a meeting attended by voivodship commission chairmen. Participating in the deliberations was Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek, and they were chaired by Director of the Cadres Policy Department of the Central Committee Wladyslaw Honkisz.

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla received chairmen of delegations of youth organizations from the socialist countries, who arrived in Poland for "Lenin's Days."

At Party Echelons and Organizations:

15 Apr

-- The Koszalin Voivodship PZPR Committee evaluated the implementation so far of the development program for the region's agriculture until 1990. Director of the Agriculture Department of the Central Committee Kazimierz Grzesiak attended.

17 Apr

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz met with the Presidium of the Board of the Warsaw Branch of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. Problems of further development of the activities of this organization were discussed.

21 Apr

-- The following Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries visited the workforces of the following plants and factories:

-- Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak, Nowotka Iron and Steel Plant in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski;

-- Alfred Miodowicz, UNITRA-CEMA in Warsaw;

-- Zygmunt Muranski, RAPAMET in Kuznia Raciborska;

-- Florian Siwicki, the Warsaw Industrial Optics Center;

-- Tadeusz Porebski, the Lublin Fiber Optics Center and the Maria Curie-Sklodowska University;

-- Stanislaw Bejger, the Gdansk Shipyard;

- Bogumil Ferensztajn, ZABKOWICE-ERG Works in Dabrowa Gornicza;
- Janusz Kubasiewicz, Rosa Luxembourg Electric Bulb Works in the Nation's Capital;
- Gabriela Rembiaz, HCP Iron Foundry in Srem;
- Stanislaw Ciosek, the Wolomin STOLBUD Construction Enterprise.

22 Apr

- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak met with the workforce of the UNITRA-POLKOLOR Picture Tube Works in Piaseczno. Theses of the second stage of the economic reform were discussed.
- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk visited the Warsaw Television Plants, where he toured the production facilities and familiarized himself with the problems of the workforce.

23 Apr

- The Krakow Committee discussed the tasks of basic party organizations in implementing the economic goals ensuing from the resolutions of the 10th Congress and the Third Central Committee Plenum.

25 Apr

- The Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee evaluated the prospects for implementing investment projects on the Coast during the years 1987-1990.
- The Leszno Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed the prospects for the development of the agricultural and food industry in the voivodship. Participating in the deliberations was Director of the Agriculture Department of the Central Committee Kazimierz Grzesiak.
- The Legnica Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed the party's activism within the educational community.
- The Tarnow Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed meeting the demand for housing construction and the development prospects of that construction until 1990.

Interparty Cooperation:

14 Apr

- During his visit to the Prague, Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednaraki met with Candidate Member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee Jan Fojtik.

15 Apr

-- On the occasion of the 75th birthday of the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Korean Labor Party, President of the Korean People's Democratic Republic Kim Ir Sen, First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski dispatched to him a letter conveying best wishes and greetings. The PRL Council of State has conferred upon Kim Ir Sen the Grand Ribbon of the PRL Order of Merit.

16 Apr

-- The 28th Congress of the Danish CP commenced its 4-day deliberations. It is attended by a PZPR delegation headed by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

-- Politburo Member and OPZZ [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz, while in Budapest, decorated Sandor Gaspar, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Chairman of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, and Chairman of the World Federation of Trade Unions, with the Commandery and Star of the PRL Order of Merit on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

-- A delegation of the Warsaw PZPR Control and Audit Commission headed by Jan Jasinski ended its visit to the Prague. The Delegation was received by First Secretary of the Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak CP, Member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee, Antonin Kapek.

17 Apr

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek held a talk with the Acting Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Korea Kim Rion Daun, who was visiting Poland at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party.

20 Apr

-- Moscow was visited by a delegation of the Cadres Policy Department under the PZPR Central Committee, headed by its director Wladyslaw Honkisz. The delegation was received by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Georgiy Razumovskiy.

21-22 Apr

-- A short friendly visit was paid to Moscow by First PZPR Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski. He was accompanied by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek, Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski, and Deputy Prime Minister Wladyslaw Gwiazda.

-- In the Kremlin Wojciech Jaruzelski talked with Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. Following the talks, W. Jaruzelski

and M. Gorbachev signed the "Declaration of Polish-Soviet Cooperation in Ideology, Science, and Culture."

22-24 Apr

-- A delegation of the Warsaw PZPR Committee headed by Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz, visited the Prague. The Delegation held talks with the heads of the Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak CP headed by First Prague City Committee Secretary Antonin Kapek. The first secretaries of the party echelons of both capitals signed a cooperation agreement.

24 Apr

-- The 19th Congress of the Norwegian CP commenced its deliberations in the presence of representatives of 15 fraternal worker and communist parties. The PZPR delegation was chaired by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek.

1386

CSO: 2600/609

PZPR VOIVODSHIP PLENUMS REPORTED

Poznan Notes Letters of Complaints

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 May 87 p 2

[Text] The principal topic at the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum in Poznan, which took place on the 6th of this month [May], were issues contained in letters and complaints from working people and the way in which they are solved by party echelons and organizations in Poznan Voivodship. "Their analysis reveals," stated Roman Cramenski, "that nearly half of the complaints directed to the Voivodship Committee should not reach that level but should be reviewed by basic level echelons and organizations."

Gabriela Rembiaz, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo talked about the need for a receptive approach to people's grievances.

The following also participated in the deliberations: Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, director of the chancellery of the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat, and Marian Kot, director of the PZPR Central Committee Bureau of Letters and Inspections.

Pila Blasts Housing Situation

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 May 87 p 2

[Article by Wladyslaw Wrzask: "More Complaints Than Recommendations"]

[Text] "The results obtained in 1985 and 1986 as well as during the first quarter of the current year [1987], place construction in Pila at the bottom rung in the country. The gravity of the situation, in which construction enterprises have found themselves, ought to be stressed. It is our task to break the circle of helplessness."

These words come from a paper of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board in Pila presented by its secretary, Bogdan Kopic.

The discussion participants talked about poor technical outfitting, supply problems and the exodus of cadres. Attempts were made at finding excuses for the existing situation.

However, less was said about what the Pila builders could or would like to do to counteract the existing crisis. A representative of IRCh [Worker Peasant Inspectorate], who presented the negative findings of inspections of construction sites, work organization and supplies, called attention to this.

It is true construction is operating under such and not other conditions. However, what matters is that all possibilities of eliminating wrongdoing, symptoms of inefficiency and bad management be utilized.

The deliberations were conducted by Michal Niedzwiedz, first secretary of the PZPR voivodship Committee.

Joint Krośno Plebiscite on Ecology

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 May 87 p 1

[Article by Ryszard Łatorski: "To Preserve Nature for Future Generations"]

[Text] "Because of the beautiful scenery and qualities of nature," recalled Jozef Tofilski, first secretary of the party Voivodship Committee, in opening on the 8th of this month (May) deliberations of the voivodship echelons of PZPR, ZSL and SD, "the area of Podkarpacie [Carpathian Mountains foothills region in Southern Poland] should become a recreational base for working people—not only for the residents of this region but from every part of Poland. For it to be this way, it is necessary, first of all, to prevent the further contamination of water and destruction of forests, and to preserve their unique qualities for coming generations."

The following, among others, took part in the deliberations: Deputy Premier Jozef Kozioł—PK ZSL vice chairman; Andrzej Rajewski—CK SD secretary; and Marek Holszowski—director of the PZPR Central Committee Economic Department.

Many rivers have their beginning in this region. However, scarcely 1 percent of these waters fall into the category of first class purity. Therefore, the halting of its further deterioration has been recognized as an issue of primary importance, particularly since the situation with the supply of water to 132 rural communities and such cities as Jasło, Krośno, Brzozów and Lesko is downright critical. Stanisław Urban, PZPR City Committee first secretary in Jasło, was among those who called attention to this.

Last year, only 85 percent of the outlays set aside in the voivodship for the preservation of clean water were utilized whereby the main "polluters"; i.e., industrial plants implemented scarcely 19.5 percent of the tasks planned in this regard. It was more to their advantage to pay fines because they are disproportionately low in comparison with the expense of building a water treatment plant. That is why both in the lecture paper and in the discussion, it was stressed that the improvement of the implementation of these investments and the improved exploitation of existing equipment should become the object of particular interest for party organizations, self-governments and trade unions.

It was pointed out that concurrently with the construction of water supply systems in rural areas (such work ought to be started immediately in 54 communities) it is necessary to implement simple sewage systems and small sewage treatment plants. "Their construction," stated Stanislaw Steliga, chairman of WRN, "must be a condition for receiving permission to begin water supply systems work."

Nearly half of the region of the voivodship is forestland. In truth, it is less exposed to the destructive emission of dust and gasses than other regions. The director of OZLP [District Administration of State Forests], Jerzy Maczynski, also proposed that waste dump sites be designated in gminas. "The 'Posesja' campaign," he said, "which is a salvation for cities and rural communities, is a burden for foresters who are not able to keep up with the disposal of waste accumulating in forests."

These problems were reflected in the resolution which specified the multidirectional activity for the protection of the environment.

The deliberations were alternately led by: PZPR Voivodship Committee First Secretary Jozef Tofilski; WK ZSL Chairman Eugeniusz Plesniak; and WK SD Chairman Marian Klechowski.

Industrial, Housing Issues Noted

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 May 87 p 2

[Article by Czeslaw Kubasik: "How to Improve Work Organization"]

[Text] An evaluation of the management efficiency of industrial and construction enterprises between 1982 and 1986 was carried out at the plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

A critical stand was taken in the lecture paper of the executive board of the voivodship echelon presented by KW Secretary Marian Mazur and in the discussion on many issues associated with the implementation of the economic reform. It was reaffirmed several times that the broken coproduction bonds, and raw and other material shortages disrupt production, lower productivity, and result in the inefficient use of work time. It was also pointed out that only 41 percent of enterprises--of the 37 largest in Wroclaw Province that underwent a thorough analysis before the plenary session--use the internal economic accounting system [wewnetrzny rozrachunek gospodarczy]; i.e., try to bring the principles of reform to the level of departments and brigades.

"One of the enterprises that has achieved good results owing to the introduction of the system of group work organization is our 'Pafawag' Railroad Car Factory," stated First KZ Secretary Leon Wodzinski. "Owing to this, work productivity has been increased more than 30 percent. This solution has enabled improvement in work organization, in the joint responsibility of workers for the quality of final products and a significant increase in wages. There where this system is in effect, absenteeism has declined, discipline has increased and price fluctuation has been halted."

In the passed resolution, the PZPR Provincial Committee has turned to party members to thoroughly study the proposals of the second stage of the reform, to support them in their substance, develop discussions in the workplace and to convey the proposals and comments from these discussions to party echelons.

Boguslaw Kedzia, director of the Department of Science, Education and Scientific-Technical Progress, participated in the plenum chaired by First KW Secretary Zdzislaw Balicki.

Athletics Combat Pathology

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 May 87 p 2

[Article by Jezy Wisniewski: "Upbringing Through Sports"]

[Excerpt] The 13th discussion participant at the PZPR Provincial Committee plenary deliberations in Czestochowa devoted to the "role of physical education, sports and tourism in the process of bringing up the new generation," Leszek Juszczyk--director of the Czestochowa MOS "Zak", received the most applause. He began his presentation with a proverb: "What is bred in the bone, will come out in the flesh," and expanded on this maxim.

"Where there is talk about sports, there is always a lot of emotion all the more that the issue of physical education has for the first time become the subject of deliberations of the Provincial Committee," began PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary Jerzy Sypek.

It was stated in the paper leading to the discussion that, among other things, in developing sports among youth we must remember that they create a great opportunity for drawing them [youth] away from social pathology.

On the other hand, the low degree of party membership in the trainers' community is of concern. This hinders the undertaking of political activity among athletes.

Until recently, the problem of physical education did not occupy its rightful position in party activity. Its role in preserving the health of society was underestimated and it was not taken into account in the upbringing programs of social and youth organizations.

Zofia Stepien, Central Committee Politburo member, participated in the plenum.

POP Self-Criticism in Skierniewice

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 May 87 p 2

[Article by Andrzej Smyczek: "We Will Not Tolerate Mediocrity"]

[Text] On the 16th of this month, the second half of the deliberations of the party provincial Committee plenum was held devoted to the strengthening of the

role and functions of POP's [Primary Party Organizations] in the sociopolitical and economic life of the province.

Between the first and second part of the debate, the members of the Provincial Committee and of the WKKR Presidium participated in 130 POP and OOP [Branch Party Organization] meetings to discuss the resolution draft plan and to gather opinions regarding the raising of the work efficiency of basic echelons and organizations. "Nothing about us without us"--this is how the new method of concretizing party documents may be described in the briefest terms.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of the Skierniewice plenum is the release of critical and self-critical reflection about the shortcomings of party work. The need for adapting the style and methods of POP work to the economic situation requiring greater initiative and energy was discussed. Thus, party rank members demanded that the feigning of work (also in work organization) the tolerating of mediocrity and the inconsistent implementation of cadre policy principles all come to an end. The self-criticism concerned the incomplete use by POP's of statutory rights. Greater party integration was proposed in the rural community through, among other things, the more frequent convening of all-rural party meetings.

Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the PZPR Central Committee Political-Organizational Department and deliberation participant, spoke about the necessity of specific action for the rapid attainment of increased efficiency in various sectors of the economy that determine the implementations of the resolution of the 10th Congress.

Leszek Miller, first PZPR Provincial Committee secretary in Skierniewice, led the deliberations.

Family Role in Education Stressed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 87 p 2

[Article by Jerzy Nogiec: "What Can Be Seen Through the School Window"]

[Text] Andrzej Brak, educator, said in a discussion at the plenum of the Gorzow Provincial Committee that when he tells his students about the problems of work organization, they glance at the neighboring construction site where they can observe a contradiction of that which he wants to teach them.

The problem presented by Comrade A. Brak was constantly raised on the 18th of this month at this Provincial Committee plenum devoted to the strengthening of the upbringing functions of socialist education. It was stated repeatedly that the basic upbringing functions are, above all, the responsibility of the family. Therefore, particular attention should be placed on raising the upbringing knowledge of parents and on organizing their cooperation with the school and with youth organizations.

In schools in turn, less importance is placed on the problems involved in sociopolitical upbringing and attention is concentrated on teaching methods. This is a problem that requires particular care on the part of school party organizations.

It was also pointed out that there is a need for managing the free time of youth. There are many inadequacies in this respect in the province--most schools do not have gymnasiums, athletic fields; there is little modern recreational or computer equipment.

The deliberations proceeded in three groups where many interesting proposals were made. First KW Secretary Wiktor Kinecki presided over the plenary session.

9853/12951

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PUBLIC CONSULTATION, REFERENDUM BILL PROVOKES QUERIES

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 5 May 87 pp 1,2

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Edward Szymanski, by W.A.W.: "Two Important Bills Shortly on Wiejska Street--Referendum Written Into the Constitution, What Will the Civil Rights Ombudsman Be Like?"]

[Text] [Question]: Rarely does the creation of new legal documents awaken such wide-ranging social interest as the draft of the laws on social consultations and referendum and on the civil rights ombudsman.

Is the work going on in the Sejm on the drafts of the two bills nearing an end?

[Answer]: Insofar as the draft of the bill on consultations with the public and referendum are concerned, this very day the essential work has been completed by the Sejm's extraordinary commission reviewing it. There was also consideration of a deputy draft of a constitutional amendment in connection with the decisive desire the deputies expressed to place a paragraph on referendum in it. At the next meeting of the Sejm, the commission will present a draft of the amendment. It consists of adding to the sentence that reads: "The working people's exercise of the power of state also takes place through an expression of will by way of referendum."

[Question]: The Extraordinary Commission has been working on the draft bill on consultations and referendum a very long time and with determination.

[Answer]: It reviewed it thoroughly and carefully. It introduced a number of changes, systematized its content and text, and made the formulation more precise. Especially important changes concern the referendum. For example, Article 19 now talks about "the decisive result of the referendum," in place of a formulation which gave rise to doubts, with the words: "is taken into consideration." There was a discussion over the problem of the majority needed in the voting. Was it to be a majority of those voting or of those entitled to vote? The commission finally decided that the result of the referendum is conclusive, if one of the options presented is chosen by more than half of those entitled to vote.

[Question]: The Sejm announces a general national referendum. Who is to announce a local referendum?

[Answer]: Ultimately the commission says that a local referendum is to be announced by the appropriate people's councils in matters within the realm of these councils. The referendum is a new institution for the exercise of power. The thing is for there not to be any dead institution which is hard to adopt in practice. But at the same time decision by referendum should occur only in exceptional cases, when it is necessary, in order not to depreciate this form of exercise of power, and also because of the costs of setting the election machinery in motion.

[Question]: Should this be taken to mean that the draft of the law on consultations and referendum changed by the commission is ready already?

[Answer]: It is ready to for presentation to the Sejm.

[Question]: And what is happening to the draft of the bill on the civil rights ombudsman?

[Answer]: The deputies are still making their final comments on the draft. The question of the ombudsman's authority is still being discussed. Generally, the deputies are in favor of a rational, effective ombudsman appointed by the Sejm. The concept of appointing a national ombudsman with the possibility of his appointing local plenipotentiaries, also with the Sejm's approval, is gaining. The ombudsman's central or possibly local functions will be determined according to the sort of demand there his services. The draft of the law does not rule out anything in this regard. Needs and social acceptance will determine the structure of this office.

In its major points, the draft of the civil rights ombudsman corresponds in key issues to those views which predominated in the PRON position on this subject. And it would seem that it meets the expectations of the public. Of course there have also been voices opposed to the creation of the institution of ombudsman at all. After all, such views have also been expressed in public discussion. We can consider whether we need more or less democracy in our life in society, but I am in favor of having more institutions to make life in society more democratic, and as a deputy I consider it my duty to facilitate the creation of such institutions, insofar as they serve the processes of democratization.

[Question]: When will the draft of the civil rights ombudsman law reach the bench of the Marshall of the Sejm?

[Answer]: Wednesday morning the final decisions as to its shape will begin in the clubs and circles, so we can expect it to happen shortly.

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SCIENTIFIC SESSION REPORT NOTES DECREASING GERMAN MINORITY

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Apr 87 p 2

[Article: "Wisla-Odra Association Meeting--Alleged German Minority"]

[Text] A two-day popular scientific session in Warsaw sponsored by the Wisla-Odra Association, entitled "The Alleged German Minority of a Million in the Polish People's Republic," came to an end on 26 April.

The destructive role that the German minority directed by the government of the Third Reich had in preparing the aggression against European countries, especially Poland and Czechoslovakia, was mentioned in the papers presented by Doc Dr hab Marian Mroczko of Gdansk, Dr Michal Muselak of Poznan, Editor Edmund Meclewski, Doc Dr Hab Feliks Bielak, and Dr Jan Barez of Warsaw and also in the discussion.

During World War II, the FRG policy in this area became an important component of West German territorial revisionism. Wherever, as in Poland, the problem of the German minority ceased to exist as the result of the removal of Germans under the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement, efforts were made to create it again in an artificial way by advancing the hypothesis of the alleged existence of a minority of a million in the Polish People's Republic. It was stated that this policy was interfering in the process of normalizing relations between Poland and the FRG.

The course of the meeting was reported to a PAP reporter by one of the speakers, Doc Dr Hab Feliks Bielak, member of the Wisla-Odra Association. The session showed that although the Polish contribution of scientific research in this area is considerable, it is not being fully utilized to shape young people's awareness of politics and history or to structure propaganda operations abroad. The course of the session showed the lack of factual justification for the theories advanced by certain West German groups about the existence of a German national group in Poland.

10790

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EXPERTS ON YOUTH SOCIO-POLITICAL VIEWS

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 14, 5 Apr 87 p 7

[Text] Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz: Western European researchers maintain that during periods of crisis the young--because their attention is focused on their own uncertain personal future--remove themselves from politics. The exception to this is the peace movement and the ecology movement, but those movements are bound to one's personal future. Those still politically involved, a minority, are shifting noticeably to the right. But all parties and youth organizations have a problem with the coming generation. The young do not believe traditional ideology and search for values it cannot live without, either in orthodox Christian religions or in various newly-arisen cults and "mystical" movements (a mixture of buddhism, yoga, and psychoanalysis¹). Alcoholism and drug abuse by the young are only an element of a broader mechanism of escape and detachment from the world. The largest group seeks escape in privacy, closing themselves within the sphere of personal aspirations and their closest friends. However, it is only a phase after which, if the necessary conditions exist, the same youth can become violent, and even behave explosively and aggressively.

I am presenting ARGUMENTY readers this sketchy diagnosis of the state of West European youth as background for thought about the situation among Polish youth.

Ludwik Luzynski, editor-in-chief, WALKA MŁODYCH: It is not that the youth do not care about politics. If someone says, as I read somewhere, that "the young are not taking part in politics," this in itself is actually a certain approach to politics. This attitude comes as a result of definite analysis and thought. I think if youth are held back from a more active approach to reality by something, this perhaps shows a noticeable lack of results from certain concepts. We are not talking about results such as the development program for apartment construction being implemented on the same scale that it was in the seventies. But we are talking about a situation in which the number of apartments increased from one year to the next, and not one in which increasingly fewer of them are being built.

Bogdan Sekinda, director of the Jose Maria High School (No. 10) in Warsaw: The young only seem to be not interested in politics. In reality it is different. When a young person is asked about a particular issue, he may

express dismay, but actually he is interested in everything. However, the manner of approaching him is very important. If information is given to a young person in a concise and factual manner he will listen attentively. He is bored by long speeches and talks, more concretely put, when information is given along with an interpretative mish-mash. He wants only information, which he himself will interpret and judge.

13073/12951

CSO: 2600/670

BRIEFS

PZPR CULTURAL DELEGATION IN BUDAPEST--(PAP) At the invitation of the WSPR Central Committee, a delegation of the PZPR Central Committee's Culture Department arrived in Hungary, headed by the department's director, Tadeusz Sawicz. The delegation held talks at the Central Committee and also at the Hungarian Ministry of Education and Culture. The delegation became familiar, for example, with the major directions of policy in the realm of education, science, and culture in Hungary. There was also a discussion of the possibilities for further development of cultural cooperation between Hungary and Poland and for joint action between the two countries in this sphere. The Polish delegation also visited various artistic institutions and cultural dissemination centers in Budapest. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 87 p 5] 10790

WARSAW UNIVERSITY VISIT TO ETHIOPIA--Addis Abeba (PAP) At the invitation of the university in Addis Abeba, a delegation from the University of Warsaw, headed by its rector, Prof G. Bialkowski, arrived in Ethiopia. At the end of the delegation's visit a cooperation agreement was signed between the universities in Warsaw and Addis Abeba. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 87 p 5] 10790

ANC SECRETARY VISITS PZPR CC--Nelson T. Mawema, deputy secretary of the Central Committee of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANUPF), visited Poland from 21 to 27 April, meeting with Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee secretary and member of the Politburo. During his visit to Gdansk, Mawema was received by Stanislaw Bejger, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee and deputy member of the Politburo. There were also talks with Tadeusz Sawicz, director of the PZPR Central Committee's Department of Culture, and at the Central Committee's foreign and political-organizational departments. During the course of the talks, information was provided on the activities of the two parties, as well as the sociopolitical and economic situation in the two countries. The emphasis was on the possibilities and need for intensified efforts to expand interparty cooperation and economic, commercial, and scientific-cultural cooperation between the two countries. In the discussion of views of certain international problems, the aggressive policy waged by the regime of the Republic of South Africa towards countries of national liberation and supported by imperialism was said to be the source of great tension. Against

this background, there was high praise for the consistent efforts being made by the ZANUPF and the Zimbabwe government on behalf of a political solution to the problems of the region. Both parties declared their decisive support for the African National Congress in its struggle to abolish the system of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and for the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in its struggle for the independence of Namibia. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Apr 87 p 2] 10790

GDR PROSECUTOR DELEGATION VISITS--On 22 April, Kazimierz Barcikowski, deputy chairman of the Council of State, welcomed to Poland a delegation from the GDR General Prosecutor's office headed by Prosecutor General Guenter Wendland. Issues regarding cooperation between the prosecutor's offices in the two countries were discussed. Jozef Zyta, Polish Prosecutor General, took part in the talks, and GDR ambassador Horst Neubauer was present. The same day, the delegation from the GDR General Prosecutor's Office was also received by the chairman of the Supreme Court, Wlodzimierz Berutowicz, and by Minister of Justice Lech Domeracki. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Apr 87 p 2] 10790

SLOVAK JUSTICE MINISTER VISITS--At the invitation of Polish Minister of Justice Lech Domeracki, Jan Pjeszczak, Minister of Justice of the Slovak Socialist Republic, arrived in Poland, representing the justice ministry of the Czech Socialist Republic as well. During talks, there was an exchange of views and experience concerning the tasks accomplished in the administration of justice in Poland and Czechoslovakia. There was discussion of the forms and methods for combatting crime and carrying out government programs for preventing and combatting social pathology, as well as problems related to legal cooperation between the two countries. Preparations for the upcoming meeting of justice ministers of the socialist countries to be held in May in Budapest were also discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Apr 87 p 2] 10790

ARGENTINE CULTURAL COOPERATION--There was an exchange of documents at the Minister of Foreign Affairs on 23 April, ratifying an agreement between the government of the Polish People's Republic and the government of the Argentine Republic concerning cultural and scientific cooperation, signed in Buenos Aires on 2 October 1984. The exchange was made by Jan Kinast, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Miguel B. Szelagowski, the Argentine ambassador in Poland. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Apr 87 p 2] 10790

ARMY CHAPLAIN CORPS MEETING--Minister Adam Lopatka, director of the Office of Religious Affairs, met on 23 April with the military chaplain corps. The subject of the meeting was the status of relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church, and preparations for Pope John Paul II's third visit to Poland. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Apr 87 p 2] 10790

MINISTERIAL, YOUTH GROUPS CONFER--Vice premier Manfred Gorywoda, chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, and chairpersons of the Socialist Union of Polish Youth met on 18 May in Warsaw. During the meeting they discussed current problems of the young, development possibilities for youth organizations, preparations for summer vacation, and the workplan for the Council of Ministers' Committee for Youth Affairs. Aleksander Kwasniewski, minister for youth affairs, also took part in the meeting. [Manfred Gorywoda Meets with Chairpersons of Youth Organizations] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 87 p 2] 13073/12951

YOUTH, PARTY RELATIONSHIP EXAMINED--What should be the relationship between basic party organizations and youth organizations? What should be done to make the party's voice echo the aspirations and meet the expectations of the rising generations? What can community party organizations do to help solve the problems of young people? Such were some of the questions asked by the participants of a seminar held last Tuesday at the Silesian University in Katowice. It was part of the discussions prior to the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, and it was attended by young people -- PZPR members and non-party members, both those representing youth organizations and the unaffiliated ones. [Text] [By (mac)] [Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 5 Apr 87 p 4] 1386

1386

CSO: 2600/609

EDITOR WILSON DISMISSETH

Obligation to Ask Timely Questions

Cluj-Napoca TELERNA in Romanian No 23, 4 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by Augustin Bucura]

[Text] I do not know whether it is a sign of intelligence or of chronic weariness, but as time passes and I grow older more and more incidents or peculiarities of human nature that used to upset me immeasurably no longer arouse in me even a trace of surprise or interest, and I have accordingly come to consider them so normal and commonplace that the unnatural appears to me only as the natural of another time! I do not wish to discuss here whether the facts or phenomena that have changed the signs or content of the natural suit me or not, but certain it is that under their pressure the number of exasperating questions "why?", "what for?" or "how is it possible?" and so forth has considerably decreased. Like it or not, reality compels you to discover that nothing is impossible in life any more than in art, and that regardless of what we do or believe the shadow of the relative hovers over us and time alone can remove or consolidate it.

Experience has proved that what at one time may appear to someone as lasting, great and created for eternity could be regarded as an oddity tomorrow, a ridiculous or tragic trifle, while what is obscured by shadows and silence today, ignored or suppressed, may be in the limelight beyond all expectation tomorrow. Van Gogh sold only one painting in his lifetime, while celebrated unknowns to us were filling the galleries of so many art "connoisseurs" at the time. In our part of the world, A. Ionescu rose to the very rank of Eminescu with the aid of some dangerous carelessness or cowardice, since pygmies feel secure only in such company and want well-certified neighbors for eternity, only to return to his status as an eternal example of aberration shortly after his death.

In the enlightened last century, a century in which many people of today would like to have lived, Flaubert had to submit to the rigors of a court for Madame Bovary, so celebrated today. As Flaubert commented in those days, "what is more, all the prosecutions of the press and all the obstacles placed in the way of thought astonish me by their profound fertility. Experience shows that they have

never served a thing. Nevertheless they persevere. Natural folly is in power. They frenetically congratulated those idiots who want to crush the muse under the heels of their boots. With a stroke of the pen she breaks away [delivers a jaw-shattering blow] and rises to the heavens." But the victory of Madame Bovary accomplished nothing for the following decades, so that a great many books awaited, or are still awaiting, their places in libraries, but not always in the consciousness as well!

Of course examples could be cited by the thousands. But I think they are sufficient to be convincing about the obligation to wonder and be surprised at the right time and not later. Since nothing is impossible, neither is it to learn to wonder...

A reader in Bucharest (N.B. a lathe operator and master instructor) sent me a quotation from Sartre: ".... A writer is in the situation of his period. Every word has an impact, and every silence as well. I consider Flaubert and Goncourt responsible for the repression that followed the Commune because they did not write a word to stop it. It will be said that it was not their business. But was the Calas trial Voltaire's business? Was Dreyfus' conviction Zola's business? Was the administration of the Congo Gide's business?.... Inasmuch as we are acting upon our times by our very existence, we decide that this action shall be voluntary." Then, in the next sentence, he asked me, "Should we resent the cowardly attitude of the Flauberts and Goncourts of our time, or should we regret that we do not have Sartre?"

Surely others are also asking themselves this very difficult question, and it merits a detailed answer. But before I attempt it I feel the need to reread Caragiale and the commentators on his time.

'Impoverishment' of Language Deplored

Cluj-Rapoca TRIBUNA in Romanian No 25, 18 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by Augustin Burura]

[Text] One of the most serious phenomena that can only have lasting consequences is being discussed with relative equanimity for the time being, namely the gradual impoverishment of the language and the use of fewer and fewer words, often less than 200, both by some mass media and, as a direct and extremely serious consequence, in current parlance. A language that has imperceptibly become barren, ossified, devoid of real content and of course of nuances cannot express the entirety of social experience or people's real mentality, but only that of those who promote it with the energy and insistence of the semiliterate. A considerable number of cold and empty formulas, "forged" and imposed in the "heavy fire" of countless formal meetings or in "service texts" written on the edge of the table between a conference and a plan of measures, have progressively overflowed from bureaus onto the pages of publications, contaminating the air waves, films and of course minds.... Out of laziness, weariness, haste, disgust or indifference, many people began by responding with the formulas and cliches that were expected of them or they had heard, often out of the mere need of being left in peace, and finally became incapable of dispensing with them. What is more, it has even come to a sign language. Hands, looks and mimicry are replacing words more and more, so that in our time a Vatinus, a Vibius Crispus or an Eprinus

Marcellus, the notorious informers at Nero's court, would find it far more difficult to ply his sinister trade if, absurdly enough, he did not have enough imagination... And then, also imperceptibly, some adjectives have lost their degrees of comparison except for the absolute superlative. To be good, for example, no longer means almost nothing but is even becoming an insult, and the dialogue must often start only from the brilliant and on up..... just as Disney's little creatures intoxicate themselves daily with grapes, so that they have come to believe they are elephants or Bengal tigers. According to some, we would have only to surpass Shakespeare, Christ, Einstein, Buddha and Dostoyevsky in order to have no more to do with the universe! And even that is merely a question of time.... A tragic loss of the sense of proportion that ignorance alone can produce and maintain. Many of the vaulting poles are becoming available even to the handicapped. It is alarming to find that in some of Romania's wonderful mass media both the scholar, the man with thousands of books he has assimilated or with other writings, and the janitor in some enterprise are using nearly the same formulas and the same number of words and have exactly the same "objectives at work and in life." Equality before the laws was enough without equality before the microphone and cameras. How this equality came about, whether the scientist, artist et al. agreed to it and did so on their own initiative out of too much consideration for the occasional consumers of culture or whether they had to agree to it is of course another question, and an absolutely necessary one. Meanwhile anyone can readily see that this sea of state-standard formulas, sentences that express nothing, vitiated or hackneyed words with distorted meanings etc., and adjectives in the absolute superlative aspire to conceal the natural and equalize everything so that if ignorance of the real Romanian language and its great riches becomes more pronounced, the anticulturals and the uncultured and all those in that dynasty will no longer experience any feeling of inferiority. People have created formulas and the formulas have recreated people, and they have begun to produce art according to their measure. For the time being it is not very abundant, but it exists and I am afraid it does not have very long to live. The old princes, the real creators of history, and the thinkers who left us an awareness and a creed, as well as the Ceapists, the workers ready to give their lives for a washer, and the more recent local leaders or wise men utter nearly the same formulas in moments of suspense or clear resolution. The new Jenica from Motatei village, Mardare de la Centru and the fighter who ennobled history with his blood are distinguished in some films or plays solely by their costumes. At any rate, the "creators" of formulas and their supporters as well as the caretakers by day of a stupid interpretation of education seem to think that is the only way to preserve the red thread that binds the past to the present through history and through life and so on... Of course what some creators of formulas claim is reality, what they think is going on beyond the walls of their offices, or what they can grasp with their minds and souls is not worth more than 200 words, but art does not have to conform to the tastes of any of these transients through culture or society but to the real necessities of the mind. "It is not the time!" and "Let us not antagonize them!" have done incalculable mental damage, for when we take care not to disturb I do not know whose convenience, ignorance or inexcusable indifference, we succeed in antagonizing several million people who are waiting for truth and beauty to don the appropriate artistic garments. On the other hand a false, artificial world entrusted to paper or film cannot in any way change the surrounding reality, which of course cannot fit into any sentences used at any time and anywhere as in the hypnotic practices.

If they are to be truthfully expressed, the reality of our time and the entirety of the people and the world in which they live need all the words in the vocabulary and perhaps some new ones... We should not forget that ignoring the long life of the spirit and the complicated relationship among culture, freedom and the future has been harshly penalized by history. And we should also not forget that evil does not always come from outside but lies in ourselves, so that we can limit its effects and even eliminate them while it is still not too late. No one can know more than he has learned, and is it necessary to mention the questions that follow from that fact?

5186

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SARDELIC DISCUSSES NATIONALISM, CURRENT ISSUES

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 87 pp 9-12

[Interview with Celestin Sardelic by Mirko Galic: "The Transparent Scenario of Incidents;" date and place not given]

[Text] DANAS: "Ideological plenums" have been recently held after being announced for several months as important political events at which unclear points and differences in ideology within the League of Communists, especially in its leadership, would be cleared up. What actually happened; where are we after the plenums?

Sardelic: It truly could be said the so-called ideological plenums were announced or an atmosphere was created around them as though these were major political events, as you have said, although this actually cannot be said equally of all of them. That fact indicates among other things that the syndrome of watersheds and radical turnarounds is associated with particular meetings or expected from them. This frame of mind also encourages a state of powerlessness, blockage, vacillation, and differences, which, if they continue, could threaten the vanguard position of the LC. Essentially we are talking about the old model of the directive type of party which, I am afraid is no longer historically possible or effective. Our activity cannot be reduced to mere meetings as an act, however radical or well-prepared they may be. We need a highly developed party life and effective party action. We need a thorough process of internal changes within the League of Communists itself, democratic changes above all. Changes which will mobilize the rank and file to the maximum, mobilize them around a specific program, and today the first responsibility of the leadership, aware of its own role, is to come forth with an altogether operational program of changes, so that it can obtain support for them, but also so that it bears all the consequences. Without that internal and radical change of direction, which is understood to be a process, there is no way out of the current crisis situation. That is also the only way of achieving democratic unity in the revolutionary vanguard.

As for the plenum of the Croatian LC Central Committee, I think that it has plotted a clear line and that a high degree of unity was achieved at it. We have before us now the complicated and decisive process of full operationalization and of passing the initiative on to the rank and file of the party, so that its indubitable theoretical, ideological, and political

results do not remain a mere desirable platform that has no impact in the life of the LC. The plenum of the LCY Central Committee was along the basic line of unity as to the essential points of departure, and now it is up to the leadership to offer altogether precise positions and lines of action along that route. The next move must be aimed at an altogether obvious synthesis, and that a specific Yugoslav synthesis on all the essential issues.

DANAS: There seem to have been two basic approaches in the preparations and in the plenums themselves: one aimed most importantly at bringing about a constructive program and conducting the entire differentiation on that basis, and another which took it for granted that the differentiation had already been accomplished and that the most urgent thing was to eliminate what was on the other side of the barricade. What comment do you have on those approaches? And might it be said that today there is an entire constructive program for getting out of the crisis, or does that program still have to be adopted? And as for the forces which are on the other side, are there uniform criteria and lines of demarcation so that we can see what is what and not make a mistake in the "classification" into opponents and allies?

Sardelic: There is only one road when it comes to the programmatic position of the LC: that is the road of the constructive program, and that is a specific program and the differentiation based on it. We have clear programmatic commitments contained in the resolutions of recent congresses. We also have the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program which without a doubt is strategic in nature. However, we still do not have operational elaborations which the LC must stand behind clearly, specifically, and whose goals it must fight for in every situation. Just as the party's position and its unity are not given in advance, but must always be created once again and confirmed, neither is the antiposition given and fixed in advance. There is always a need for a vigorous attitude free of all dogmatism, a priori schemes and ideological stereotypes, and patterns of ideological, theoretical, and political life which in historical terms have already run their course. The position of fixed undesirability supposes that the LC itself is in and of itself or its leadership in essence an ideological sect, one that is pure and flawless. We are talking about a kind of catastrophic scenario, of a state of being spellbound by dangers, a state that is usually seized at the weakening of the revolutionary initiative of the LC itself and of its effectiveness in efficiently altering the status quo is in fact its own greatest "enemy." It is clear that this neither delays nor denies the danger from those forces (bureaucratic-statist, bourgeois-liberalistic, and particularly nationalistic) which are attempting more and more and ever more loudly to impose their own retrograde solutions which our movement has rejected long ago. And when this happens, then again there is more talk about "us" than about "them."

DANAS: The "ideological plenum" of the Croatian LC Central Committee brought many new things both in the preparations as well as in the content and positions. In both areas there was a dominant openness, a readiness for the LC to commit itself without unnecessary and undocumented suspicions in creating a front that would seek and find a way out of the crisis situation. Has there been resistance to that approach? Will it be possible to achieve that orientation?

Sardelic: The innovations which you mention are on the same line as the commitments from the congresses and the full awareness of this Central Committee that above all the LC itself must change if it is to be able to be the leading force for change. You ask me about resistance. There has been. That resistance is above all in the League of Communists itself, in the form of routine and practicalism, in the form of bureaucracy and opportunism, in the form of the old style and the old method of work, in the lack of synthesis and effectiveness, in reliance on positions of power, etc. The key issue will be whether we will manage to translate that awareness and those results arrived at within the LCY into party and social consciousness, into practical programs and a method of action. I certainly do not underestimate those tendencies which have been trying to block the changes, to renew the statist consciousness and ideology, to sow distrust, defeatism, and intrigue, to revive the old dilemmas and divisions. We must persist along the line that has been established according to principle, maintaining full openness and breadth toward all those willing to provide direct confirmation of themselves with respect to the party program and in action. None of us has the right to monopoly, a monopoly over progressiveness and the party line, and in that sense we all have an occasion to show who we are in action.

DANAS: The ideological situation in the Croatian LC and in Croatia has been at the center of attention, above all in connection with certain incidents which have been widely exploited to serve the purposes of certain conclusions concerning the state of affairs in the republic. Do you think that the Croatian LC has avoided the trap of being overconcerned with incidents and of neglecting its dominant obligation to create the program and to rally the socialist forces for getting out of the crisis?

Sardelic: Quite often we really have been confronted with a number of cases, indeed with those which occurred earlier and then were revived and politicized during this past period. There have also been those cases which occurred during our term of office and which have brought about misunderstandings and polarization. We have been resisting that trap you speak of, sticking to principle, but it is not up to me to make definitive judgments on the other question of whether we have always and in all respects been successful. In any case, I personally believe that we must be open to critical and democratic dialogue, to theoretical and political discussion, which in the absence of a priori political interdiction and name-calling will guarantee a higher level of political sophistication and greater influence of socialist public opinion in the squabbles and debates and will in that way narrow the room for irrationalism, sensationalism, pressures, and manipulation. The League of Communists must in this way fight to prevent the negative politicization of "incidents," which causes confusion and ideological disorientation of the public, and, especially important, it must fight so that the strong political energy of the so-called "incidents" does not sidetrack us and lead us into a blind alley, thereby blocking our offensive line of struggle concerning the strategic and essential issues and problems of development and to effectively overcome the state of crisis. We must render our judgment about all "incidents" quite openly and in conformity with principle, and there is no reason whatsoever to keep anything silent or disguise it in political terms; on the contrary, we must guarantee that the full truth is expressed about everything, however awkward that might be. Only in this way will socialist

public opinion gain greater confidence as to an authoritative scientific, historical, and political judgment and assessment--but in all of this we must also vigorously oppose the transparent scenario of dramatizing the "incidents" of pressure and political name-calling, and indeed also the tendency to constantly keep certain communities and their political leadership on pins and needles and on political probation. I have already spoken several times about this in public, and today, unfortunately, it seems to me that there is a need for us to clear things up and confront one another. It is obvious that the essential thing for the League of Communists is to provide sound arguments that can be the basis for discriminating when we really are dealing with an incident that in and of itself requires reassessment as well as a specific solution, from those times when a particular occurrence is only a pretext for opening up deeper political processes which under the specific circumstances do not signify any longer a pointing up of errors and correction of injustices inflicted on an individual, but restoration of a line which historically has already been superseded.

Incidentally, now that we are talking about incidents and their "manufacture," I have read in BORBA that I myself have become an incident.

DANAS: In the meantime, between the preparations for this interview and its occurrence, certain veterans in Split have "called your name" because you supposedly gave the "green light" to shooting the film "Life With Uncle." What do you say to that?

Sardelic: Even after everything that was said, according to the newspaper article, at yesterday's meeting of SUBNOR in Split, I will not enter into motives, and I wish to believe that they are not disputable. However, I cannot believe that everything was said exactly as has been presented by the articles, and I therefore issue a qualification in advance and concentrate only on what must be said for the sake of the truth. I did not give the "green light," as stated in BORBA on 13 May 1987, when it quotes the words of Comrade Ante Jurjevic Baja, for the film "Life With Uncle," but rather in a consultative meeting that was called in the Croatian Republic Conference of the SAWP, the nature of which I did not learn until I arrived there, I presented my personal judgment in a quite broad discussion, a judgment I entirely stick to even today, and I have nothing to add to it nor to take from it. Incidentally, there were two of us attending the meeting who are members of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee. In my discussion I mentioned that I was speaking exclusively in my own name, and therefore there is no way in which my judgment could be associated with the positions taken by bodies of which I happen to be a member at the moment. Finally, there are the minutes of that meeting, and I am ready to publish everything I said without any changes whatsoever. What in essence did I actually say? I defended the right, and did so quite clearly, of the competent institutions of the system to make an independent and responsible decision, in so doing evaluating the opinion of all participants, that is, including the legitimate right and the positions of the veterans' organization.

Although the way of thinking about culture and cultural policy which has been expressed in the occurrence of the incident with "Life With Uncle" is alien to me, I can understand it as one of the patterns of thought which actually do

exist in our country. Incidentally, we also talked about this at the last plenum of the Croatian LC Central Committee. It was my feeling, and in spite of everything that has happened, I stick to it, that this must be resolved through democratic and documented discussion and within the institutions of the system. What are we otherwise left with? Is there any awareness of what in essence we are striving for here?

Finally, what is meant by the position that the shooting of a film amounts to extortion of the money of the Labin miners? What kind of demagoguery and cynicism is this over the backs of the Labin miners! It is a pity that this "solution" was not proposed at the beginning of the social drama in Labin. I am convinced that the strike would have ended much earlier, to the benefit of both the miners and culture. And as for the slander expressed at that meeting according to BORBA concerning my past and linking me to the year 1970, I will say only this: I reject all insults with indignation, since they are an insolent lie. If there is anything "well known in Dalmatia," as stated in the article, then it is precisely the opposite of that that is known. Finally, this shows that we are not talking about a film, nor even about differences in views about culture and the like, but we are dealing with altogether different things. It is obvious the logic of manufacturing "incidents" is not accidental at all. So there you have it, some people can even find three cases in a single afternoon, cases of such kind as we have seen. Well, this is something that we must in the end give serious thought to. And finally, I can understand that we differ in attitudes on a number of questions, I can and must appreciate the possibility that there are those who do not agree with a number of my positions, but I cannot fail to state the fact that instead of a democratic dialogue, this is a method which imposes on me certain political collages whether I like it or not, and, worst of all, it spreads impudent lies.

DANAS: Certain distinguished intellectuals (Vranicki, Vrcan, Mikecin, Cvjetanin...) who for a long time have been in greater or lesser "disfavor" were also invited as guests to the plenum of the Croatian LC Central Committee. What was the real reason for this? What is signified by their presence in the ideological front led by the party? Is this characteristic of the present relationship between the LC and the intelligentsia?

Sardelic: I would first make two necessary objections to the content of your question. First, the comrades whom you have mentioned, along with those whom you did not mention, did not attend the plenum as guests, but as members of the Commission of the Croatian LC Central Committee for Ideology and Theory and as heads of sections of our center or as members of the council of the Dr Vladimir Bakarić Center of the Croatian Central Committee for Ideology and theory. And second, when you mention the "disfavored" and their presence in the ideological front, I must point out that these comrades of ours, as communist intellectuals and party activists, have been continuously active in our ideological front for 20, 30 years, and in some cases even longer. The attitude toward them at times is another question, and here things are more or less well-known to the public. I think there is no need for us to go back to that. It is simply a question of the need for full confidence in our intelligentsia with Marxist orientation, and that those of its representatives who are ready for a specific communist commitment and those who above all have

authentic and unquestionable creative work behind them. This is an expression of the position of the party set down in the LC Program and also an aspect of the continuity and consistency of this Central Committee which has been manifested since the beginning of its term of office. So, it is neither any innovation in our communist movement if we have in mind historical memory and an awareness of Tito's position, which has always been essentially antisectarian, undogmatic, and mobilizing, and to that extent it is particularly inspiring and exacting for us today.

If we have not always been persistent along that line, and we obviously have not, if there have been disagreements, conflicts, and marginalization of the creative forces of science, social theory, and Marxism, then this means above all that there was something wrong with us and the position set down in the program was "forgotten." This position must be understood in basic terms. I would just add that this is a strategic commitment, not a tactical move or democratic gesturing on the part of the political bureaucracy, which is to say that we must all become accustomed to dialogue and criticism, which will not be any the less merciless toward us if we betray trust and the position. As for the relationship between the LC and the intelligentsia, this is always a complicated and controversial issue. I have already said something about it and I would only add the following: just as there is no way out of the crisis without the process of debureaucratization of the LC as an entity, of its position, its way of thinking, and its political activity, and in practical terms that also means full openness of the LC toward worker criticism and its being rooted more strongly in the working class, so it is equally true that the desired turnaround will not be accomplished unless authentic opportunities are created for the technical and humanistic intelligentsia, for all those who adopt our communist program and who are ready to assume specific commitments based on it.

DANAS: What characterizes the political-ideological situation in Croatia today? And in this respect where is the room and the opportunity for nationalism, for clericalism, which seem after all to be states of consciousness that are latent and potentially permanent, and what can also be said about the sectarian and dogmatic outlook?

Sardelic: At the last meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee we furnished very precise assessments in the analytical material, in the introductory address, in the discussion, and in the concluding address; in this situation it would be difficult to add anything new. In Croatia we must be particularly sensitive to the danger of Croatian and Serbian nationalism and to their manifestations. Although nationalism in Croatia is not so present on the public scene, it would be the worst thing if the danger of it were marginalized, if any of its manifestations were covered up. That is why we must be particularly sensitive to specific occurrences as well as trends for nationalists to rally together. In this we must certainly be concrete, making realistic assessments as to the scale of all its forms, manifestations, and forces, acting effectively to combat and isolate them.

As in fact we said at the plenum, certain forms of Croatian nationalism have been reviving in recent years. Although politically defeated and frustrated from public action since 1971, nationalism has been attempting to infiltrate

institutions, above all in the fields of culture and education, as well as linguistic practice. It should also be said that the linkage of Croatian nationalism to clericalistic forces in the Catholic Church is today both manifestly and latently the most dangerous hotbed of nationalism. This assessment applies in spite of the attempts of the militant religious press, which has been trying to dispute it, in spite of the fact that both words and deeds, that is, their political significance, support it. We must persist in the resolute struggle against all nationalistic aspects and tendencies and against nationalistic forces, since any compromise or opportunism will sooner or later come back to haunt us. It is therefore necessary throughout the entire League of Communists not only to have a full awareness of the danger, but also to act effectively on the spot.

DANAS: What do you see as the manifestation of the dogmatic and sectarian outlook? What are its dimensions?

Sardelic: The sectarian and dogmatic outlook is also latently and manifestly present. For example, it is manifested in the failure to understand the nationality question, in keeping silent about it, and in the flight from the real problems in interethnic relations. For example, in the fight against nationalism the positions from which the fight is waged have always been essential, as they indeed are today. It cannot be waged from positions of ethnic nihilism or by renewing unitaristic claims and recurrences. The essential thing for this struggle, finally, is whether it is conducted from the line of the fight for socialist self-management or from the position of statism either of the polycentric or centralistic type. Or, with respect to fundamental and specific issues and the achievement of liberties in our country, including religious liberties, the following should be said. Just as it is essential that no occasion be given for space to be created for political manipulation and dubious coalition on the part of religious communities outside the scope of the constitution, so it is equally important to note that aside from clerical tendencies on our soil, there are also others which are active, those which feel that they can make a valuable contribution to enriching the life of the community, and that they are not an obstacle to the coexistence of religious and secular culture nor to their values. Such views, for example, are present in the lives of a majority of religious people, whose outlook and activity show that their adherence to religion and the church is not, nor must it be, an obstacle to their favorable involvement in self-management and political life. Finally, experience shows that these views have taken root even with a considerable segment of the clergy and theologians. In that respect any sectarianism only opens up room for right-wing forces and clericalism.

These are all manifestations of the dogmatic outlook which is present in the League of Communists itself and will not be so easy to eradicate once and for all. This can be seen both in the work style and in the way of thinking, and there is a growing feeling of the power that is reproduced from the position of authority, but also a state of crisis, vacillation, and opportunism, which naturally revive the need for great ruptures, incisions, and repression. A specific form of dogmatism or, more accurately, neodogmatism, is evident concerning the issues of the economy or, still more concretely, related to the fate of implementation of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. For

example, neodogmatism basically renews the ultraleft-wing criticism of commodity production, the criticism which neglects the inevitable and progressive function of commodity production at the present level of development of the productive forces. This is that outlook which believes that dogmatic ideology and "ideological guidance" are a replacement for the social productive forces as a driving force of development. Within that outlook self-management is reduced to a mere ideological project and is dogmatically absolutized, and, most essential, that outlook denies self-management and current production relations and social relations any authentic rootedness and existence, etc. Finally, today it is already quite easy to recognize it in the conception of socialism, of the social position of the party, of the character of socialist democracy in our country, on matters of culture and freedom of creativity, etc.

DANAS: One of the key topics both today and tomorrow is the party, its ability to project development, to mobilize and rally the socialist forces, to restore confidence. To what extent is the LC aware of that task?

Sardelic: There is no doubt that this is the key topic. That is, the LC will be a vanguard insofar as it persists, but today it is also essential to renew the awareness of development and responsibility for it to be the political force of change under the new historical conditions, a force which will open up prospects for development of the productive forces, for material and social prosperity, for the development of science, technology, and organization, and to do so on the basis of a strengthening of the power of the class, on the basis of development of democracy and socialist self-management. Any other way, a road that would not be directed toward development of modern productive forces and new realms of freedom in socialism and self-management would objectively, regardless of revolutionary continuity and programmatic declarations, marginalize the League of Communists, and in time it would in fact be displaced from the scene of history. These are questions of great moment, even though such a phrase has its dramatic shade and in the flood of rhetoric has already lost some of its meaning. That is why the key question is why the LC has still not been able to associate that orientation and its programmatic principles with a simultaneous radical change in the state of affairs in the country as well as to changes in its own position, the way it thinks, the way it is organized, and its mode of political operation. Changing that state of affairs within the LC itself is an essential prerequisite for the restoration of confidence you have been talking about and thereby also for mobilization of all the forces of socialist self-management. You specifically ask me whether the Croatian LC was aware of that task. I think it is becoming more and more aware of it with every day that passes.

However, that awareness is slow to become a material force for change.

DANAS: The League of Communists is facing protests coming from the ranks of the workers (Labin and elsewhere). What can be said in this connection about the social forces on which the LC is relying in its action? What change has there been here?

Sardelic: The League of Communists must be much more vigorous in elucidating the nature of the interests, differences, and conflicts in our society. This

also applies to its position in occurrences of work stoppages. The League of Communists must be open to worker criticism, one form of which is the occurrence of work stoppages. It must equip itself to examine the situation realistically and to channel worker action toward overcoming economic and social difficulties in everyday life and work.

Conceptions to the effect that social conflicts and conflicts of interest can be resolved successfully and permanently by the use of coercion must be rejected. In this we must be aware that there will be work stoppages that will objectively signify resistance to the necessary economic and indeed even social changes. The main thing in which the LC must persist is the line of the struggle to achieve the goals and policy contained in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. That line must also be pursued by overcoming social-class, economic, and political roots which provoke, generate, and shape worker protests and strikes, but equally in removing their social consequences.

The key issue here is that the League of Communists must not only develop an awareness about the whole, but also effectively guarantee unity in the operation of economic and social measures. Unless there is a timely and effective combination of the measures of economic and social welfare policy, the resistance of those whose interests are objectively threatened will be too strong, and it will threaten even implementation of the stabilization program as a whole. Unless that occurs, economic measures and the insistence on economic laws and their appropriate operation in our system, without the measures of social welfare policy, will objectively instill a lack of confidence from the standpoint of social welfare and will block changes, especially changes of a structural nature. Yet if insistence on the measures of social welfare policy should be profiled outside the context of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, then we will threaten the economic essence of the changes. In examining the deeper causes of worker strikes, we should note the fact that they also occur as criticism of the extensive type of development we have had up to now, and social dramas best portray and clear up a number of erroneous decisions and also failures.

DANAS: What comment do you have to make on the strike in Labin?

Sardelic: A number of the assessments and tendencies already mentioned apply to that strike. Certainly it also has its own specific characteristics. I feel a need to say quite openly that we are entering a morally interrogative phase of denying a number of hasty and unfounded assessments which have been made either for the purpose of subsequent rationalization of decisions and modes of behavior or by way of delivering superficial lectures, indeed even on the part of those who by their position or responsibility should today not only be more moderate, but in fact have had an authentic occasion in recent days to become directly involved in resolving the social drama at Labin. This is particularly unfair to those comrades of ours who have been providing active help on the spot to resolve the problems.

Complete and politically objective assessments will soon be offered, and I would not like for my part to fall into the error I have referred to. There is no need whatsoever to cover anything up or to rationalize it after the

fact. On the contrary, we should debate everything openly and critically, but also objectively and responsibly. I personally feel that the workers have behaved in line with their social essence and working and living conditions, and the LC and trade unions have done what they could in the specific situation, torn between the majority of the justified demands of the workers, which it itself has followed, and the real financial possibilities, as well as the pressures which have threatened a deepening of the crisis. The assessment became rather widespread that there was justification for the decision related to the position of the LC to put an end to the strike and go back to work. It is this question that has been evoking the most criticism. This is something else that we will have to speak about fully and objectively and arrive at political assessments.

The basic thing here is to succeed in preserving the self-management strategy for resolving the social conflict and ultimately to see that reason and democratic methods win out in the end, however dissatisfied we may be with the duration and social cost of the strike. And this valuable experience must also serve us in solving other social situations.

7045

CSO: 2800/236

CRAFTSMAN COOPERATIVE IN TEPLICE SURVIVAL OF 1968 REPORTS

Prague ZEMELSKÉ NOVINY in Czech 16 May 87 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Vaclav Cervinka, chairman of the Assembly and Construction cooperative in Teplice, by Jaroslav Smid: "We Have Already Begun with the Restructuring..."]

[Text] Three trade cooperations were organized in Teplice in 1968. In the following years attempts were made to close them. However, our party organizations decided that the community needed the skills of the masons, boiler repairmen, painters and other tradesmen and thus, the original cooperatives merged and a new cooperative—the Assembly and Construction Cooperative—was established.

It was not serving exclusively local customers. The cooperative intended to prepare a solid social ground for its members, to hire skilled workers, to do good work and to earn good wages. In all that it succeeded, but by the same token, it may be said that it must continue expanding all its areas and in particular, its technical base, mainly with its own resources and its own enterprising spirit.

This was the topic of our interview with Vaclav Cervinka, the chairman of the cooperative. It may be described according to current catchwords as restructuring of the economic mechanism.

Vaclav Cervinka began our discussion: "I am searching in the newspapers for every bit of information, for every word about the restructuring. However, I still do not know many specifics and economic regulations, although its basic notions and purpose are clear to me: To make work better and more efficient. Therefore, we are already planning to restructure our cooperative. Beginning early next year, we intend to apply some new factors—in the same way as it is done, for example, in enterprises where the experiment is now underway."

[Question] Obviously it was essential for your success that you were trying to make the most of every economic and social opportunity. That means that you would not wait for instructions from above, but adapted the existing regulations to your particular situation. After all, in the end every enterprise itself must experiment with the restructuring—with the method of management within the enterprise—and adapt it to its own conditions.

[Answer] Today it is obvious that we are enjoying the greatest social advantages and earning the highest incomes of all comparable cooperatives in this area. Every month 20 to 30 persons apply for a job in our cooperative. Not every production cooperation can boast of anything like that. Our earnings, for instance, are due to the fact that time and again we do not hesitate to offer a counterplan. If we can meet a more rigid plan, the share of profits left to us is greater than if we would exceed the specifications of the original plan by approximately the same amount. And if some other enterprises fail to meet their plan and ask us to take over their tasks, I agree on the condition that we also receive their wages.

[Question] This means that members of your cooperative do better work for higher pay. Can this escalation continue indefinitely?

[Answer] Of course not. Nevertheless, there are enormous untapped capacities in the organization of labor in our trades and tasks—especially where it concerns, for instance, modernization of old facilities. Every morning at 6:30 I go to see our workers at one of their workplaces. It so happened that 16 boiler repairmen were just sitting around, complaining: "We don't have oxygen for welding. We don't have screws." And then I would start running around and calling on the phone in order to find the supplies so that the work could continue.

[Question] But the foreman or technician should have taken care of those details in advance.

[Answer] He should have, and in most cases he does. Of course, occasionally it is impossible to obtain materials without my personal contact and intervention. But I am giving you this example to show you that in recent years there has been a situation in our cooperative where the workers were pushing the foremen or the chairman of the cooperative to get going, and not the other way around. They know that they can earn good money but that we unconditionally must meet the plan.

[Question] Has it ever happened that your cooperative failed to meet a plan because of lower outputs or productivity, or simply could not fulfill an order which you had guaranteed to do?

[Answer] That would be an exception. For instance, we were replacing windows in old apartments, which involved various additional chores that hampered the job. The manager then asked me in writing that the money for the payroll be advanced to him, and promised to complete next month jobs equal to that amount. Of course, we cannot avoid orders that are unprofitable because we are a service organization. At present we have 308 employees and annually we perform services worth Kcs 30 million and other works worth Kcs 20 million, for instance, we manufacture lighting fixtures and also compressor mufflers for the ČSD [Czechoslovak Railroads] in Prague. This we must do in order to earn the highest possible profits, which in our cooperative amount to Kcs 4 million annually. Of course, now we must change the organization of production in order to achieve greater efficiency. We plan to merge the two lighting fixtures factories into one, and to manufacture the mufflers in double shifts.

[Question] I heard that you are planning to send abroad a team of roofers to earn hard currency for your cooperation.

[Answer] Not only do we want, but we urgently need hard currency so that we may buy foreign technology. We need automatic hammers, bolt and nut threaders, semiautomatic welding equipment, cement pumps, special hand tools and materials, and also, for example, adaptors for construction machinery. Then, with all that equipment, we may be able to raise our productivity and performance, and technologically reach the top, for instance, with new synthetic plasters, new methods of conservation of historical landmarks, or let us say, methods of residential heating.

[Question] Thus, you want to achieve maximum independence so that you may follow your own judgment when making decisions about how to make money, how to spend it and how to strengthen your cooperative's base. However, the important thing is that you do not pick only orders that interest you and refuse those that the customers need, or simply that are in public interest.

[Answer] Of course, our duty first and always is to provide services, to expand them and to improve their quality. In this respect we follow the demands of our party and state agencies, and also the requirements of our cooperative administration. It is clear that with a well equipped base and flawlessly organized labor--which may be achieved especially if our employees are really interested in the work of our cooperative--we can satisfy the demands of our customers and of society better than if we would constantly blame the shortages of workers, materials, and so on.

[Question] Where at present is the most important hidden potential in your cooperative?

[Answer] Simply in the planning of operations and production which is not always on a level that would guarantee smooth operations and at the same time, upgrade our people's working conditions. This is a logical consequence of our problems with material and technical supplies and with the contradictions in the management, with one manager blaming another for certain shortcomings.

[Question] As for the restructuring, what change in regulations would benefit your cooperative the most?

[Answer] I see enormous opportunities in additional cuts in production costs and losses. For example, we realized that by giving up company automobiles and instead, paying mileage for the use of our own cars we saved substantial transportation costs. Of course, here we have a more relevant question: how can we use our latest technological and mechanical equipment, that is, how can various centers use it more intensively and on the whole, for more hours, and at the same time, handle it most carefully. It will be necessary to make every individual concerned about the proverbial single brick that, if broken or needlessly discarded by the mason, would affect his wages in some way. To make a long story short, the regulations must be clear enough so that everyone would know exactly the plan for outputs, profits and

material consumption and accordingly, could figure out his paycheck, even the bonus he would make if he exceeds the plan or demonstrates appropriate initiative, or conversely, if he fails to meet the plan. What we, the management of the cooperative, must do is to sit down with the personnel in individual centers and like in school, teach each "student" the basics of the required attitudes to work.

[Question] In other words, you have actually already begun the restructuring process...

[Answer] Indeed we have; although we still do not know about it everything we need to know, we know its essence and purpose. We are trying to specify the minutest details of the method to stimulate people's creativity in work, their self-improvement, their devotion to the enterprise, and to continue this effort. I think that whoever starts early, he will have an edge which should be felt already in the nearest future.

9004/9835

CS0: 2400/304

AGROZET TO BE CAREFUL NOT TO COMPROMISE ECONOMIC EXPERIMENT

Prague ROVNOST in Czech 21 May 87 p 6

[Text] In its resolution adopted in 1986, the CSSR Government decided that selected organizations would begin a comprehensive experiment to increase the independence and responsibility of economic organizations for an effective development. Gradually, it has to verify in practice the basic changes in the system of management and planning, rooted in the principles of Restructuring the Economic Mechanism in CSSR. Among the organizations selected for the experimental verification of the new element of restructuring is also the concern AGROZET Brno. We talked with its economic director Eng Miroslav Filip about the preparations of that concern for the experiment.

[Question] What is the purpose of the experiment?

[Answer] The need to verify in advance the possibilities and usefulness of the restructuring in selected organizations was determined, among other things, at the 4th session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak in December last year and in a number of statements by our party and government representatives. As is well known, the present system of managing and planning of our economy is no longer commensurate with the substantially more complicated conditions, tasks, and goals of future development. That is why the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party adopted the resolution about the gradual restructuring of the economic mechanism. At the same time the first two economic production units--Jablonex and Crystalex--began the experimental verification of some elements of the restructuring. We would like to join the experiment as soon as possible, because we cannot wait for a detailed and definitive elaboration to introduce the new mechanism of management. If it is to applied generally at the beginning of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, it is essential to begin verifying the usefulness of its elements already this year.

[Question] What basic changes will the experimental verification of the elements of restructuring the economic mechanism bring?

[Answer] The essence of the changes lies in going from the current administrative management to management carried out predominantly by economic methods and indicators, in increasing the authority and responsibility of the experimenting organizations, in creating space for a true socialist entrepreneurship, and thus also for a more effective participation of employees in the management of the enterprise and the economic sphere as a whole. To begin with, the number

of mandatory tasks of the state plan in the system of management and planning is to be substantially reduced. We assume that export to nonsocialist countries and import from them, expressed in c.i.f. prices, will still be assigned to us as a mandatory task. Our most important indicator will be the share of earnings from export to nonsocialist countries which will regulate the ratio between our export and import. The most important construction projects, state goal-oriented programs, technological programs, the R&D plan including introduction into practice, and obviously also the mandatory items of material resources and allocations of the state plan will continue to be assigned as mandatory tasks of the state plan. All other tasks will become only directional.

An important tool of the state plan is to be the long term, centrally established, and in principle uniform norms of monetary ratios of distribution of the economic results between society and the experimenting organization, the minimum of resources to be created for its expanded replacement process, and the main ratios of using resources which were left to the organization for its disposition.

Covering the needs of development from internal resources, that is, financing according to the principles of the full *khozraschet*, is the basic feature of the restructuring and its experimental verification. The state allows the experimenting organizations to retain more resources than heretofore for the purpose of the verification: they can keep all write-offs, levies from profit will be reduced, etc. The experimenting unit must, of course, exercise good management and, with the grants to its assets being regulated, cover all the needs of its development as well as all other costs of production. While levies for the state budget are being reduced, the contributions from accrued wages for social security are being increased from 20 to 40 percent, which makes the labor force considerably more costly and compels enterprises to make better use of it.

[Question] Why is AGROZET going to be one of the experimenting organizations?

[Answer] We think that there are primarily two reasons for that: Concern AGROZET has its own R&D and technical production and merchandizing base. It thus comprises a unified replacement process cycle, from research and development, to production, to sale of products through its own marketing network. It is not only interested to a considerable degree in export to nonsocialist countries, but in mutual marketing exchange with socialist countries as well. Furthermore, since 1983 the concern, together with the foreign trade enterprise Motokov, has been experimentally verifying an economic interlinkage of production and foreign trade on the basis of a provider contract. Basically, such economic conditions have been created in the concern that will enable it to cover its needs out of its own generated resources. Nevertheless, the possibility of a credit from the state bank cannot be ruled out.

[Question] What can be expected from introducing the experiment?

[Answer] The restructuring of the economic mechanism and its experimentally verified elements are to increase in our concern the motivation of the working collectives in the intensive development of the concern and its organizations,

as well as in the intensification of the entire national economy. This should be reflected, among other things, in the fact that we should be able to reach the results which were assigned to us by the Eighth 5-Year Plan, and do it with less input than required by our economic organizations. These are, for example, the large increases in the number of employees, high investment costs, etc. I assume that the new rules and the new instruments of economic management will provide a broader range of material incentives and kindle the initiative on our workers' part to search for other, more intensive ways of reaching the goals of our plan. And that as a result the pressure to realize extensive sources of development will be reduced.'

Of course, we cannot expect that with the change over to the experiment all direct management will cease and the indirect economic instruments will automatically begin to function. After all, definite material streams and flow of deliveries have been developed and provided for. These have to be observed so as not to cause serious discrepancies in supply and demand, disruptions of plans for capital investment, and other undesirable consequences. We cannot, especially during the initial stage, do without the direct instruments of management. What has to be kept in mind, of course, is that both the economic and direct management should have the same, common objective: to reach maximum efficiency in the framework of the enterprise, the concern, and the entire national economy. All decisions at all levels of management have to be judged according to this basic criterion.

[Question] What new demands does the experiment place on the production managers?

[Answer] If the basic criterion for the decision making process in all instances must be the measure of usefulness for society, then it will require a change on the part of many employees from the old to the new economic thinking. Under the conditions of the experiment we will not be thinking about producing at all costs, but only about production that is desirable for society, with commensurate costs and resources, which guarantees that the requirements of our consumers and customers are met. This concerns employees of all levels and in all sectors. New sources of intensification have to be found in technological development, wage policy, and other actions.

The system of management will also have to be modified to conform to the new objectives and goals. A clear-cut dividing line will have to be drawn between the authority of the general management of the concern and its organization when the new method of supporting this authority by financial means is applied. It is also necessary to realize that with the change in the system of management will also come a change in the relationship of individual units and workplaces of the concern.

[Question] Only a few organizations and enterprises have been chosen so far for the experimental verification. Everywhere else the principles of the current system of management will apply for the time being. This will obviously cause considerable problems. Will not the different way of thinking and acting, the different attitudes of many economists in various agencies and organizations become an unsurmountable barrier to a full application of the experiment?

[Answer] The implementation of the experiment is to be facilitated not only by the change of the instruments of economic management, but also a number of changes in mandatory legal regulations, laws, and norms, which in their present reading do not answer the objectives of the restructuring. It concerns, most of all, the drafting of a new law about state enterprise, which is to resolve comprehensively the main economic and legal questions of the standing and function of the main component of the national economy under the new conditions. Even though we will no doubt still frequently encounter the old habits of working and managing, I believe that we shall succeed in creating the space for a full development of the experiment.

It is, of course, desirable that after we begin the experiment, we shall be judged by all the central agencies and organizations according to the new criteria and not according to those hitherto applied, which are still valid and mandatory, though not in our concern. The various agencies and organizations should not be asking us to submit the previously required numerous statements, reports, and analyses of how we have realized indicators which will no longer be determinant for us. This would lead, contrary to the objectives of the experiment, to a further undesirable growth of administration, but also to a certain cleavage in the actions and thinking of managers and their collectives between the old and the new methods of economic management and conduct. The obvious result would be an undesirable compromise, which would in no way bring about all the new results that are expected from the restructuring of the economic mechanism and its experimental verification. I believe, however, that gradually we shall succeed in creating the conditions for a unified system of economic management, as well as a unified system of new economic thinking.

12605/12859
CSO: 2400/308

EDITORIAL CRITICAL OF WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE ON RESTRUCTURING

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 May 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Waiting for Restructuring Not Enough"]

[Text] The public is waiting impatiently for the formulation of a comprehensive document on the economic system. The impatience stems from the hope that new techniques and work styles will inject into the current difficulties a spirit of creativity, greater accountability and fruitful initiatives. In particular, the new system promises to eliminate many of the day to day problems currently experienced by managers in supplier-consumer relations, because plan fulfillment will be determined according to how well enterprises meet their obligations flowing from mutual economic agreements.

Are these hopes justified? An overview of plan fulfillment for the first quarter of the year does not give much cause for optimism. To be sure, the economy continues to develop, but more problems remain unresolved than we anticipated. The plan is being fulfilled unevenly, the flow of production processes is being disrupted, production costs are not being reduced rapidly enough. Most firms are having problems with supplier-consumer relationships.

The problem is that the current unsatisfactory status of the above mentioned relationships did not arise all by itself, but derived from the actions of people. We must recognize this, because it is the key to finding a way to improve.

Binding contracts already exist today. But some suppliers don't make a big deal about meeting their terms, and their deliveries are late, partial, and of low quality. The end users, for the most part, are quiet about this, usually because they do not want to offend the supplier and fall into disfavor with him. This is paradoxical, but in many cases is in fact true. You weren't pleased? Well then next time you won't receive anything at all. What is this about penalties or taking us to the national arbitration board? Go ahead and sign a contract with someone else.

But with whom, given that production is organized in such a monopoly fashion? Principles of Economic Restructuring state that one of the binding indicators will be public demand. Everyone knows, though, that for the most part companies produce today what they want to. Production today, after all, is supposed to be based on public demand. Excessive inventories of goods, however, for which there is no market, show a healthy lack of respect for public demand.

These inventories for which there is no demand do not seem to bother producers. They fulfill their plans in terms of gross output, request their bonus, and get it. And you ask why supplier-consumer relationships don't work? The question arises: are we to wait until 1 January 1991, when the new economic system takes affect, to begin to produce what is needed, and not just what is convenient for the producer?

Much has been written and spoken recently about the need for a new way of thinking. During this time not a single voice has been raised in disagreement. Numerous managers have even emphasized that this is necessary. They talk about a new attitude, but work in the old way. Of course one cannot generalize. There are also numerous managers who act as they speak, who do what they say they will do. But so far these people have not visibly affected the fulfillment of a single indicator. This being the case, we will without a doubt still have to point out those who do not want to adapt.

One may object that as the implementation of the restructuring actually gets within reach, we can correct everything at once, so why the uproar now? In historical terms, three and one-half years is really an insignificant amount of time, but it is also well known that one cannot live by history. People want to make purchases today and plants want to have materials to produce with today, tomorrow, a week from now, and a month from now. Every day we need to make an appropriate contribution to national income formation so that we will have the resources to pay out pension benefits, continue to care for the sick, for young married couples, and to keep our schools, cultural facilities and health care facilities at the highest possible level of sophistication. We need these resources at the national level to build electric power plants, improve our communications network, develop our socialist society and, last but not least, assure our country's ability to defend itself.

It is not enough to think about and wait around for the restructuring, we need to do all in our power now to bring it about. We cannot afford to manufacture anything that will not be marketable. We have to stop settling for the mediocre and always strive for the highest possible efficiency and quality. We need to improve order and discipline, and make the best use possible of the work day. We need to eliminate excess inventories as soon as possible, as well as live up to the conditions of the contracts we sign.

The restructuring of the economy is linked to the draft of a law concerning a state enterprise which significantly expands the right of worker participation in management. One need not wait for the final wording of the law in this case, but should immediately begin to take greater notice of the suggestions and comments of workers, solicit their input, give production meetings the clout that they were supposed to have originally.

One should mention the success that accompanied the early work of public inspection commissions and commissions for improving the efficiency of fuel and power consumption, how well they demonstrated the interest on the part of blue collar workers in proper management, as shown by tens of thousands of suggestions for valuable conservation measures and improvements. It is no accident that enterprises that have already begun or plan to begin the Experiment depend very much on worker initiative and experience.

If the new economic system is to begin to function properly it will need to implement successfully a policy of compensation based on merit. Life itself will make this principle necessary, but why wait so long? Why not implement it right away, despite the fact that the initial stages will be accompanied by numerous conflicts and false arguments in support of wage equality and levelling.

It has been asserted that one learns from experience. A year ago the economic sphere blamed poor performance on the fact that it was not prepared for such demanding targets. It was a poor excuse, because the targets outlined by the 17th Party Congress and in the drafts of the Eighth 5-Year Plan were known well ahead of time. No one should kid themselves that in three years they will be able to express surprise at the demands of the new economic system, since it is known even now how much harder we will have to work. Three years is a long enough period of training for the struggle between latent capabilities and latent complacency.

The formulation of a comprehensive document on the economic system is being awaited impatiently. This is evidence that there is no lack of good intentions to manage resources better than in the past, to work more responsibly and with more initiative. We therefore need to provide this good will with enough leeway to implement new work styles immediately. This is in the interest of the whole society.

9276/128'9

CSO: 2400/311

PAPER CALLS FOR EFFORT TO ACCOMPLISH NEEDED CHANGES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 May 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Changes Will Not Come of Their Own Accord"]

[Text] Increasing the sense of individual responsibility within every enterprise collective for the publicly owned resources entrusted to it is one of the most important goals of the planned restructuring of the economic system. All currently is not well in this area, a fact emphasized by the 17th CPCZ Congress and the most recent CPCZ Central Committee Plenum. Objectives are being reached slowly, as shown by the results of both the first year of the 5-year plan and the performance during the first quarter of this year. There continue to be vast differences in plan fulfillment levels. Some firms over-fulfill their goals, but fully 42 percent do not meet the gross output targets mandated by the plan, and 38 percent fail to fulfill targets for adjusted value added.

This fact makes it all the more pressing for us to implement full cost-accounting [khozraschet] as the principal technique of internal enterprise-management, and as practical system for effectively allocating labor and other production resources to the fulfillment of tasks related to future social and economic development.

Current practice indicates that it will be no easy task to implement the task outlined in Principles of Economic Restructuring, namely the replacement of administrative management methods with cost accounting systems and other economic mechanisms combined with greater independence and accountability of collectives for the results of their economic activity. In attempting to implement this change we are experiencing a number of problems, chief among them complacency and a tendency to wait for orders from above. These are habits from the past which impede basic changes and retard the implementation of a strategy of accelerated growth.

There is no alternative to the strengthening of cost-accounting based management. In this context there has been more and more talk of so-called full cost accounting. Unfortunately, more is being said about this than is actually being done in practice. Some of its principles cannot at the present time be implemented universally. They are currently being evaluated as part of the Comprehensive Experiment in Increased Independence and Responsibility of Economic Organizations for Efficient Development. Examples include changes in the allocation and utilization of the resources generated by economic entities.

Currently, most of the resources generated through depreciation and profits, up to 80 percent of them, are centralized. These pooled resources are then used to offset the operating losses of other organizations. Full cost accounting demands that economic entities operate on the basis only of the resources that they have generated themselves, excluding the subsidies and transfer payments that have to date made it possible to operate inefficiently for a long period of time. The objective is for every enterprise to generate resources through efficient management that will make it possible to cover not only normal production costs and provide for wages growth but also to finance enterprise growth in the broadest sense of the word, including needed investments, R&D programs, and social benefit programs for employees.

This is one aspect of the further development and improvement of cost accounting. Another, no less important aspect is its incorporation into actual internal enterprise management, which is based on the implementation of economic mechanisms within organizations related to the management of internal enterprise divisions. We need to move in this direction immediately. Every enterprise management has the capability to implement these systems. After all, qualitative changes in economic development depend mainly on the work of individual production collectives. The thorough implementation of the principles of internal enterprise cost accounting is an important and immediately exploitable source of improved efficiency in every enterprise. It has an immediate impact on improved efficiency in the allocation of material and financial resources and actual labor. It forces work collectives to search for optimal ways to increase the use values of their products and services, to increase product quality, to improve the use efficiency of machinery and equipment, to increase the value added to raw materials, materials and energy by the production process, and to improve the overall accountability of every collective and its members for the results of its work.

Those who expect a fundamental turnaround to occur just because a new economic system is being implemented are mistaken. Changes will not happen just because the center creates a new operating environment. We need to determine right now how to improve managerial efficiency at every workplace. One of the basic ways to improve management sophistication is to convert every element of the economy to a full cost accounting system to the extent possible.

This task is a part of Principles of Economic Restructuring. It reads: "We must see to it that every division, element of management and collective has an interest in, and is accountable for the public contribution represented by its work, that a sense of public responsibility be increased in the work force. In this regard it is important to define thoroughly the tasks of all internal enterprise components and their mutual relationships and interactions."

The importance of full cost accounting can be confirmed by the employees of the Jablonec Costume Jewelry Plant who, within the context of the Comprehensive Experiment, are testing elements of the future economic system. They are now fine tuning the principles of the "new management" at the divisional level. So far we have confirmed the need to implement cost accounting down to the level of independently managed centers. Nor can there be any delays in implementation of these principles in other economic organizations that will be entering the experiment in the near future. This is one of the basic conditions of further efficient economic development.

Full cost accounting, on the other hand, should not be understood to imply full freedom of action and independence for the enterprise. This attitude sometimes occurs in the enterprise sphere.

A given enterprise will still utilize the material and monetary resources of society according to regulations defined by the state, will be accountable for their use and bear full responsibility for its obligations vis-a-vis other enterprises, institutions and individuals. Organizations will obtain resources to execute increasingly ambitious and demanding tasks from monies realized from the sale of products or services. This amounts to self-financing based on profitability; the excess of revenues over expenditures, defined as profit, expresses the extent to which the needs of the end user have been met. The work collective and its members will have their compensation tied directly to final economic performance.

This is pointed out as well in Principles of Economic Restructuring where it is stated that an organization uses its internal resources first of all to exercise its responsibilities to the state, namely projects that will benefit the entire society. The authority and responsibility of these principles are strengthened above all in the formation and implementation of economic plans, in the use of internal resources, in improvements in organizational structure, in the choice of marketing, inventory and cooperation policies, in determining the product mix in accordance with the mission statement of an organization as contained in its bylaws.

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SUPEK INTERVIEWED ON PRAXIS, MARXISM, SELF-MANAGEMENT

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 87 pp 14-17

[Interview with Prof Rudi Supek by Jelena Lovric: "Fought as a Commando Operation;" date and place not given]

[Text] Dr Rudi Supek, professor, recently published a book entitled "Živjeti nakon historije" [Living Beyond History], which, as he says himself, came about as a part of his conversations with young colleagues about the relationship between modernism and Marxism. But as soon as it was published, the book provoked an interesting polemical exchange of words not because of its content, but because of certain errors in the way it was presented in the press, that is, in its linkage to the magazine PRAXIS, although that journal is not mentioned anywhere in the book. Because of the circle of its prestigious collaborators (Prof Milan Kangrga and Prof Gajo Petrovic) and its ferocity, that brief verbal duel again brought public visibility to PRAXIS as an important part of our philosophical and political past and awakened curiosity as to what was happening among people who at one time might with some qualifications have been referred to as people of like mind, and perhaps also as to how this phenomenon, controversial in any case, can be assessed from the present situation, which is essentially different from the entire situation up to this point. The first thing we asked Prof Supek, then, was what caused the conflict between him and those who reacted to his book?

Supek: The conflict did not occur because of any thesis in my book, but because of my subsequent qualification that it was not an attack on PRAXIS. That is, within the group of PRAXIS people there is an old disagreement over the journal PRAXIS INTERNATIONAL, which comes out in Oxford and which I consider a continuation and continuity, while others regard it as a discontinuity with respect to our journal PRAXIS, whose publication was brought to an end in 1974. Immediately thereafter, beginning in January 1975, persecution of the PRAXIS people began. The usual reference is to the eight Belgrade professors, but actually the penalties affected some 20 people from various communities and with varying intensity. In Ljubljana, for example, their best sociologists, Veljko Rus and Vladimir Arzenšek, had to leave the university, but in Slovenia, by contrast with our other republics, they did not touch their international projects, so that on the international scene, for example, Rus is the leading figure in Yugoslav sociology. In Croatia no one was driven out because of PRAXIS, but communications with foreign countries were frustrated, and in Belgrade even

today they still given them trouble when they want to engage in scientific research.

DANAS: Somewhere about that time you said that you were an optimist because the situation had become absurd.

Supek: If my optimism at that time assumed that the influence of that group could not be broken—then I was right. Since if you have read all those so-called "on-duty" attackers of PRAXIS—as a newspaperwoman you know quite well who these people are—they have always complained, right up to the present day, that we have excessive influence in society, by contrast with those who are supposedly the representatives of true Marxism, though I don't know which is the right one; they have now attempted in Belgrade to find it at the highest level, but it seems to me that they were not successful in that. We were not prevented from writing, we were only unable to speak in public, and they prohibited our Korcula Summer School, which began in 1963 and which at that time brought together the elite of European philosophy: Marcus, Bloch, Lefebvre, Bottomore.... After all, it is not enough for people to just collaborate on a magazine, but it is also important that they come together, not only that they meet through their writings, but also that they know one another personally, since only in that way do you see that you might altogether disagree with someone in the conception of certain problems and yet that person still is in your circle, you are on the same line.

DANAS: Gajo Petrovic recently said that you PRAXIS people never did think the same way....

Supek: That goes without saying. These were not schools of thought by any means, this was no thought cut to a single pattern. The people who came to the Korcula School were not just Marxists, but, for example, the phenomenologists as well like Enzo Paci, or the existentialists like Eugen Fink, who is Heidegger's direct heir; every possible current in conceptual thought, but they all had certain common goals, they were all interested in the liberation of man and society; that is, they were all in the line of socialism. But the essential thing is this: neither among the editors of PRAXIS nor at the Korcula School, although there were very lively and fierce discussions, were there ever polarizations and conflicts; a spirit of absolute tolerance and openness prevailed. Conflicts among us occurred only in 1960, when on Bled we confronted the representatives of dogmatic Marxism and had a showdown with the theory of reflection which they represented. When PRAXIS was frustrated and when the persecution of PRAXIS people ensued, then all those people who had come to the Korcula School, and many who had not come, but were in that group of thinking people, that is, all the leftists, the intellectual elite of European Marxism—although our press portrayed them at times as reactionaries—filed protests with our authorities. My friend Ulf Himmelstrand, who at that time was president of the world sociology association, was sent by Olaf Palme to see what was happening. Our politicians assured him that all of this should not be taken too tragically. Perhaps he deserves the credit for the PRAXIS people not being left on the street without a job, although some were without work for a lengthy period of time. The reasons for the persecution of PRAXIS people did not lie solely in the pressure of the forces defeated on Bled, although perhaps they were the

decisive factor, since they were entrenched in the party and were waiting for their moment, but rather there was also pressure being exerted from outside, from the Soviet Union. This was the time of Brezhnev: back in 1968 the philosophers Kolakovsky and Moravsky were being persecuted in Poland, then came the "Prague spring" and the purge in Prague and then in Budapest, and even before that in the GDR. In a little book issued by the USSR Council of Ministers about the situation in western Europe the Korcula School and the journal PRAXIS are referred to as the ideological center of imperialist reaction.

DANAS: What were the reasons in our society why PRAXIS was able to exist and to flourish at a time which was much more dogmatic and then later, in a period which in many respects was more democratic, that space was altogether narrowed?

Supek: To some extent that is the model that applies to all the Eastern countries: when the economy opens up, ideology must be curbed. After all, as soon as you give people freedom in economic activities, you are forced to control them still more in the ideological sphere, so that economic liberalism travels closely, hand in hand, with ideological dogmatization. Gorbachev has been the first to break that, since he realized that there is no efficient economy without free public opinion. In those areas which are the most progressive in the Soviet Union, the space and defense industries, they invest twice as much and they have twice as many people as the Americans. It was natural for them to ask in the end why they are so inefficient. The Americans, who are the first in the world in the psychology of the study of human abilities, have shown that there is not always a positive correlation between intelligence and creativity. Intelligence is important, but the basis of creative thought is divergence, the ability to move away from customary methods, that is, this is thinking that is anti-routine and anti-bureaucratic. One must, then, suffer a certain nonconformity in the thinking of creative individuals, but dogmatic ideology and its bureaucracy proclaim what is referred to in psychology as divergent thought to be subversive.

DANAS: You say that Gorbachev was the first to see this. But there is no question that in the sixties and seventies that kind of opening up occurred in Yugoslavia as evidenced by the Brioni showdown with police forces, the Bled skirmish with dogmatic Marxism, by the economic liberalization, and so then even PRAXIS, with its criticism, which later grew to become criticism of the entire status quo, was a part of that attempt at opening up.

Supek: PRAXIS never engaged in criticism of the entire status quo. It was always critical, since that is a philosophical position, that is Kant's thesis, that was not invented either by the Marxists or the PRAXISites, but it was Descartes who said that one must doubt everything, that is, criticize everything, and that is the basis of all critical philosophy. But PRAXIS itself was never concerned with all the aspects of our society; it was typically a journal of philosophy, sociology, and theory, and there was only one single issue that concerned itself with Yugoslav reality, and it raised quite a bit of dust. So there was no criticism of the entire status quo in that journal at all, but the bureaucracy, which was uneducated, did not like any critical attitude, since it wanted praise of the entire status quo. The bureaucracy does not like everyone to be open to criticism and it does not allow it. And only some people are allowed to criticize.

DANAS: But aside from those forces entrenched in the party which lost the battle of Bled and aside from that international constellation, did something happen within the PRAXIS circle that favored the closing of that space which had already been conquered once?

Supek: I do not think anything of the kind occurred. Our thinking always differed, but absolute tolerance prevailed. A conflict occurred only when the journal PRAXIS INTERNATIONAL was started, and even that conflict was largely manufactured. When PRAXIS was frustrated in Yugoslavia, and when all those who had participated in its life from abroad began to protest, we felt that we in Yugoslavia had a duty to do something, and so I proposed starting the international edition. Especially since PRAXIS had had a very important role, as it was emancipating Marxism from dogmatism, in bringing together at the same time Marxists from the socialist and nonsocialist countries, and in many of them, not only in Yugoslavia, there was a still harsher persecution of a large number of philosophers: in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary. I felt it an elementary human obligation to show solidarity with progressive people, especially if they have been persecuted for that reason. Especially since I have been an internationalist by commitment back since the days of my youth. Perhaps you are not aware of it, but I have lived with the proletariat of virtually all of Europe. During the war I was in France on the mission of the Yugoslav Communist Party to see about our Yugoslavs who had fought in Spain and to get them to Yugoslavia, and in the Resistance Movement I had the duty to organize Yugoslav emigres, but in 1942 I was arrested and I spent 3 years in prisons and in the Buchenwald concentration camp. After the war I did not take my doctorate until 1952; I was editor of NOVE JUGOSLAVIJE and at the same time secretary of the commission of the French Communist Party for Yugoslav emigres, but in 1948 I resigned. Since when the general secretary Jacques Duclos warned me that Tito would be liquidated in 6 months, I replied that regardless of what they thought, I simply did not agree with the Cominform Resolution. I was attacked at the time quite a bit by their newspaper HUMANITE, since I managed to win over many of our emigres, so that in 1949 when Yugoslavia was isolated from both the East and the West, we sent a delegation to Yugoslavia. Tito received them, the press gave extensive coverage to this in order to show that even outside Yugoslavia there were people who showed full solidarity with it. Why am I telling you this? So that you can see that I always felt that it was my basic human and moral obligation to remain with the people who were truly fighting for socialism and for human liberties, especially when they have been persecuted for doing so. Just as Karel Kosik, say, was aware that joining the editorial board of the journal PRAXIS INTERNATIONAL would mean penalties, and so for years he pumped gas, this man who was the first philosopher in Czechoslovakia. So, I did not doubt for a moment that if we could not be active in our own country, we must attempt to do it somewhere where it was possible. Some people felt that PRAXIS should have been relinquished to the past.

DANAS: To what extent did that starting up of the magazine outside provide arguments to those who said that there was some foreign service behind that?

Supek: There are no arguments whatsoever to support that, but rather this is a typical bureaucratic-police stereotype, since the socialist bureaucracy, which proclaims itself to be a proletarian internationalist--that is the kind of

ideology it has--immediately proclaims anyone who does not recognize the limits of its authority or who in the pursuit of his own thought has escaped it and has published his views wherever that was possible (since he is entitled to that as a free man) to be a dissident or someone's agent. Thus in practice these pseudointernationalists actually do not recognize proletarian internationalism, but are its greatest opponents, when according to its stereotype there is some kind of police behind every person who works on the outside, so that as soon as PRAXIS INTERNATIONAL appeared in the eighties, they immediately said of it that the CIA was behind it.

DANAS: Even people who do not really belong in your circle agree that there was a shutting off of the dialogue somewhere after the seventies. But what do you think about the thesis that the circle of PRAXISites themselves, because of their harsh and radical criticism in a society which did not have very great democratic traditions, brought about that crackdown themselves?

Supek: Again, you are not being precise. Not all the PRAXISites were radical. Within the group of some 30 or even 50 of them, there were very widely differing conceptions and a widely differing style and level of radicalness. Some engaged in certain criticism which was perhaps more radical in verbal terms, since in words you can be very severe without hitting home on the right things at all. Truly radical criticism is a criticism which demonstrates the real functioning of the system and its dysfunctions, and this can be done even in very mild terms. That is why one should not generalize. Look at some of my colleagues: they are also PRAXISites, but they do not have any great troubles, people like to invite them, they always have a good standing in the party. Only some people have troubles. In the eighties even certain politicians declared that there were "good" and "bad" PRAXISites.

DANAS: Thus the Zagreb circle fared badly in those assessments?

Supek: That is true. But I have the good fortune always to move in "bad" society; that is my destiny.

DANAS: But didn't the echo of those individual radical reflections hurt the entire group?

Supek: That is not what was involved. Even as a student I read Arcibasev's book "Sanjin"; as far as I know, he was the first, and then many other writers wrote about it, to show that there are two types of people and accordingly two types of revolutionaries: one is full of vitality and personally confident, an improviser who is against every system and everything that is systematic and lives very intensively, while the other is a dogmatist, an ascetic, obedient, full of severity, always at the service of virtue and system. These two mentalities do not tolerate one another; there is a deep antagonism between them, but both are always in the same organization, even when I was a student, I would see them among my colleagues. Those strict people, the dogmatists whom Nietzsche called men of ressentiment, since like the pope's mule they remember a blow for 7 years for that one opportunity of returning it, were drawn both into the revolution and into the party, and Stalin advanced them--since he himself was one of that kind, his behavior was always ascetic, semimilitary--to be

the ideal of Bolshevism. Aside from that there was also a negative selection, a gathering of those whom psychoanalysts call sadomasochists, while our people call them cyclists, since they trample those below, and are bent over under those above them. But it is important that all of that almost disappears in a democratic society in which there is free communication among people, since individuals learn to control both themselves and some of their impulses, and then also to respect opposing views, and what the Germans call Anstaendigkeit, decency, is generated. In repressive regimes people even lose that sense of decency, and that is what is most horrible.

DANAS: You say that we now find ourselves at a moment decisive to the future of humanity. From that position of the present day how would you evaluate the role of PRAXIS; what can be said to be its contribution to authentic Marxist thought, and where perhaps did you make a mistake?

Supek: I will answer you in the context of the continuity of PRAXIS whose publication either in Yugoslavia or abroad is now in its 3d decade. PRAXIS began to come out in the sixties, when there was still quite a bit of debate with what Stalin had created, and when it began to be pointed out that Marxism as a doctrine had differing tendencies, differing currents and conceptions emerged, and this was above all a time of the opening up of Marxism, a shattering of the dogmatic fetters and a search for some model of socialism that would be an alternative to the Soviet model. In the eighties the set of problems has been changing, since Marxism has fallen into crisis, and there is more talk about the problem of utopia, of the crisis of the great ideologies, of the technological and ecological problems. When in 1972 I published the book "Ova jedina zemlja" [This Sole Country], my colleagues made fun of me in public for having been taken in by imperialist propaganda, since at that time people did not take the ecological crisis seriously. They waited for Chernobyl! In our country it was thought that one must know Marx' "Das Kapital" by heart, which today no longer has any importance to economics, but nothing was known about the relationship between man and nature, although this has become a matter not only of the survival of humanity, but even of elementary hygiene: just as a man must know how to blow his nose or something else, he must also know how to deal with nature. But although in the eighties we have entered a region of new problems, the principal goal remains of exposing what is actually the content and purpose of socialism.

DANAS: You have all the while been concerned to a great extent with participation and self-management and also, in that same context, with the passivization of citizens in a modern society.

Supek: Passivity and withdrawal into private life are the result of bureaucratization of society, which is a constant danger and has been in the sixties and eighties. I have taken part in a number of research projects and have concluded that self-management could not succeed in our country precisely for the reasons which Engels mentioned back in the nineties of the last century when he said that statist nationalization of the means of production would put political oppression and economic exploitation in the same hands of the state. Engels interpreted that tie-up as a step backward toward capitalism, and he even said that it was worse than capitalism, since capitalism at that time separated

the economic and political functions, although modern development is going in the direction of merging them. Socialism should have separated those functions once again by virtue of its theory about the withering away of the state and politics. But the opposite happened; in the Soviet Union the economy is strictly under the control of the political party, and even in our country, in the self-management model, the political factor has managed to outweigh the self-management factor, which the Kraigher Commission spoke about in detail in its analyses. Why did the self-organization of society from below not take place? Because there were always middlemen who maintained political control over its organization. For instance, for 10 years we were unable to legalize the sociological society, since we first had to obtain the opinion of the Socialist Alliance, and they would not give it to us unless we consented to have them control our personnel policy and confirm the president, which no self-respecting society could accept. There is no real autonomy then, of our scientific or professional societies, but rather the Socialist Alliance acts like the basic brake on the self-organization of the citizens. Wherever it was able, our political factor went against the self-organization of society, which is the basic program of self-management. Thus even our society did not manage to get its citizens participating in public affairs, and that is the basis of any democracy. So the great interest there once was in Yugoslavia evaporated, and those who were the principal propagators of self-management socialism in the world are today silent, since Yugoslavia has become a counterargument. A good idea has become a bad implementation, since even in our country it has not been possible to eliminate political control over self-management mechanisms. But I do not think that self-management as an idea and as a concept has really been compromised, but rather our society is suffering from a certain inability to translate its critical thought into deeds. There is great resistance of the conservative forces to real changes, the first of which for us is democratization of political life.

DANAS: Presumably there were also certain objective circumstances which made it impossible to consistently implement that democratic variant of the organization of society in the context of our Yugoslav divisions and with such differing levels of development.

Supek: Sometimes it is easier in a backward community to implement the idea of integration on the basis of self-management or participation. Thus in the smaller towns people participate more in running the town than in large urbanized communities, indeed even in those traditional communities where one feels certain tribal or zadruga remnants are felt more than in those so-called modern communities. In any case participation is influenced by widely differing factors, and it is clear that the strategy cannot be the same everywhere, and so one must change and adapt to every community. But everywhere, literally everywhere, it is possible to increase the participation of citizens in public affairs. The Soviet economist Strumilin has shown that over a period of 25 years beginning in 1925 Soviet citizens dropped to one-sixth of their former participation in public organizations, which means that the political monopoly and the power of the elite drove them into complete passivity. Now they tend more to go to athletic events, to the theater, to exhibitions, they read more newspapers and books, their cultural level has risen, they go everywhere, but only as a public, as an anonymous mass, and they are not to be found where they ought to be active.

DANAS: Or they go to church. They say that there was an unprecedented rush to church last Easter.

Supek: I first thought about that in the fifties, when the Patriarch of Moscow, a splendid old man with a long white beard, praised the Soviet regime and Stalin at the First World Peace Conference in Paris. I was a bit surprised, but later I understood: when a regime is repressive and has a dogmatic ideology--what alternative does a citizen have but to go to church? And that is why churches do not fight such regimes, since they know that they flourish under them.

DANAS: Let us go back to PRAXIS. On the trail of that authentic thought which was recognizable, not only in Yugoslavia, but also more widely, can any new responses be found such as are necessary to this time, or has PRAXIS truly completed its mission once and for all?

Supek: Magazines are ephemeral and temporary phenomena; they have always been a dynamic form of social expression of group thinking or of an aspiration to some common goals. But PRAXIS cannot be spoken of as though it were a school of thought or an exclusive orientation, since it was always a spinning wheel of differing lines of thought, and recently there has also been some mutual intolerance, which I think is mostly the result of our generally unhealthy situation. PRAXIS cannot be spoken of only as a reaction to dogmatic thinking, and its openness has not been spent by any means. Many people who have been active within it are still at the height of their power, and it cannot be said that that generation belongs to the past. But I am thinking first of all of the young people who feel the new problems, who feel the rumble of these times, and the old people who started with PRAXIS before the sixties, can help insofar as they are open to the new. The conditions do exist, I think that they will be there more and more, not to create PRAXIS all over again, but certainly something similar. But first there has to be some kind of normalization of relations in Yugoslavia, since what has happened is that the people in this sphere of activity of ours, just like people in politics, have shut themselves off within the borders of their republic.

DANAS: When PRAXIS is spoken about, the same problem always seems to arise: it was very strong in its criticism of the system that existed, but it seemed to have lacked that one more step of turning that criticism into a specific social program.

Supek: Every author who was active within the PRAXIS group was an individual in his own right, with his particular interests; some people were more attached to what we refer to as social practice, others were more concerned with problems of theory. Some wrote about specific things, some of their solutions have even been applied. In Slovenia they are carrying out what Veljko Rus has written about the reorganization of our enterprises. He has even been invited by the Japanese so that they could take advantage of his experiences with participation. But we should realize that criticism is always radicalized when it feels itself powerless; as soon as it becomes involved, as soon as it has an opportunity to act--it becomes realistic. If you drive people out of society--most often you drive them into radicalism, even into utopia. And in our

country the best brains were driven out of social practice; had they been included, everything would have been altogether different; after all, when you need to solve a concrete problem, then you try to adapt the ideal model to the real possibilities, that is what you are forced to do.

DANAS: To what extent is Marxism relevant thinking which can respond to the challenges of this time?

Supek: We live in a time--that is to be seen from many reactions in Europe--of a considerable crisis of the left and of a kind of bolstering of the right. Even those who were leftists yesterday--today they speak like typical philosophers of the right. But regardless of that kind of individual evolution, even objectively one cannot fail to see the crisis of the left. Do you know why? In the fifties when we collided with Stalinism, we criticized it fiercely, we looked for a new model, while all the other countries and political parties did not react so quickly, since for them this was not a question of to be or not to be, and that criticism was rather slow to penetrate working class movements. It perhaps took 20 or 30 years for that critical attitude toward the Soviet model to penetrate the broad masses, but now they are all afraid of that collectivism which persecutes people and smothers human rights. Making a fetish of the Soviet Union and of socialism has given way to an altogether realistic attitude toward the left and toward socialism; we have passed from the utopian and mythological phase into the critical-realistic phase in which people feel the pressure of new problems which, they can see it, even socialism has not solved. Thus the dominant socialist model has become unacceptable, and the alternative model has not yet been sufficiently elaborated in general terms nor has it penetrated the broad strata for them to vote for socialism regardless of what is happening in the Soviet Union or China.

DANAS: How much of those developments in the European left affected the situation in Yugoslavia?

Supek: We do not live in an airlock, and our intellectuals take part in those European developments, feeling that we can no longer be satisfied with the old agreements. But in our country, in our society, the problem is posed of the very existence of the left. After all, the bureaucracy has managed to completely disintegrate left-wing thought among the republics or indeed all the way to the individual level, so that it does not feel called upon to solve any specific problems. I have read some analyses of prewar Germany which show that ultimately it was the passivity of the German liberal and left-wing intelligentsia which withdrew from public life which decided Hitler's coming to power. The refusal and abstinence of progressive thought always gives an opportunity to reactionaries and conservatives to impose themselves as a solution and to take power. This is a great danger for every society. That also applies to our society: the abstinence of the left-wing intelligentsia, which is largely disintegrated and which the bureaucracy has driven out of public life into a corner, or it itself has withdrawn into its studies and offices out of dissatisfaction and disagreement, and in that study or office, without any sort of social responsibility and without normal communication, even one with another, by force of circumstance it sometimes becomes conservative, frequently nationalistic, a victim of old man's narcissism, and it is certainly lost, and it is becoming a serious threat to the normal development of this society.

REGULATION ON UNIVERSITY ATTENDANCE AT HOME, ABROAD

Sofia DUMZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian No 40, 26 May 87 pp 2-15

[Text] Ministries and Other Departments

Ministry of Public Education

Regulation No 9 of 25 March 1987 On the Enrollment of Students in Higher Educational Institutions in the Bulgarian People's Republic and On Issuing Permission for Bulgarian Citizens to Train in Higher Educational Institutions Abroad

Part I

General Stipulations

Article 1. The enrollment of students in higher educational institutions (VUZ) of the Bulgarian People's Republic will be based on competitions. Competitive examinations will be organized and taken in such a way that the best prepared and most capable young men and women, who have shown a liking for various area of knowledge and have the qualities needed for the creative mastery and application of such knowledge, may be selected and admitted by the VUZ.

Article 2. The grading and admission of the candidates will take place in a descending order based on the total competition points for approved planned vacancies for the respective professional areas and specialties.

Article 3. The plan for the admission of students will be based on the future needs of the national economy and other areas of public activities for specialists with higher training. Planned openings for specific users of cadres with higher education will be announced for some professional areas and specialties.

Article 4. Students accepted for the various professional areas will be assigned their specialties before the end of their first year of their higher training.

Part 2

Enrollment of Students in Bulgarian Higher Educational Institutions

Chapter 1

Regular Training

Section I

Application Conditions

Article 5. The following individuals from both sexes may apply for regular training in a Bulgarian VUZ providing that they meet the following stipulations:

1. They must be secondary school graduates;
2. They are under the age of 35 on the year of application, regardless of the day and month of birth, with the exception of the following VUZs and specialties: Georgi Dimitrov Higher Physical Culture Institute, Sofia (G. Dimitrov VIP), 27; Krust'o Sarafov Higher Theater Art Institute in Sofia (Kr. Sarafov VITIZ), for drama and acting puppet theater acting, 23 for women and 25 for men; Bulgarian State Conservatory, Sofia (BDSK) for classical singing, 25 for women and 28 for men, and variety art (with a competitive examination in singing), 23 for women and 25 for men; pedagogy of Komsomol and Pioneer activities, 23;
3. Subsequent to their secondary training, the applicants have gained the necessary labor practice by 15 July of the year of their application and are still employed at the time of submission of their candidate-student documents (certified with an excerpt from their labor card). Their job practice must be of the following duration and nature:
 - a. Young people who have completed their secondary training or have been discharged from military service during the year preceding their candidacy, to have worked for a period of 8 months. The time spent in military service after 15 September of the preceding year of the application and until their discharge will be considered labor practice and will be certified in their military document;
 - b. Young people who have completed their secondary training or have been discharged from military service during the year preceding their application must have worked 8 months during the first 1-year period after completing their secondary training or, respectively, after their discharge from the armed forces by 15 July of the following year, and have been subsequently employed without interruption during any one of the subsequent 1-year periods preceding the competitive examinations;

c. If after completing secondary training the individual has worked without interruption in the past 3 years until 15 July of the year of candidacy, the requirement of labor practice during the preceding period will be waived;

d. The stipulations of letters "a" and "b" also pertain to candidates who completed their secondary training in previous years but who received their diplomas during the year of candidacy and to night school graduates;

e. In the case of particularly major reasons, proven with corresponding documents, the interruption or insufficient mandatory work time, as stipulated in letters "a" and "b," is allowed but for no more than 2 months during the first 1-year period following the completion of secondary training, and for no more than 3 months for each subsequent 1-year periods prior to the application. In such cases, the candidates will submit a written petition to the chairman of the VIIZ central commission in charge of admission of new students and submit the necessary documents;

f. Labor practice in the sense of Item 3 will include also: training in vocational training centers, courses and schools for vocational training as per Article 352 Item 3 of the Labor Code; work as lecturer or for a fee, under the conditions of full employment, as is the case for regular specialists; training in higher, semi-higher and other schools superior to secondary schools, with a completed school year (if the winter semester of the current school year only has been completed, 4 months of labor practice during the year of application is required, to be completed by 15 July, and an official note certifying that the candidate continues to be employed;

g. No labor practice will be required for the following: graduates of full-time secondary schools during the year of application; pregnant women and mothers of children under the age of 3 (as certified with a document issued by the rayon polyclinic and the identity card of the mother; the age of the child will be the one attained by 15 July of the year of application); young people who, at the date of submission of their documents, are still performing their military service and are to be discharged the same year (as certified with a document issued by the military unit); young people discharged from regular military service during the year of application; temporarily disabled (as certified by the medical consultative commission of the rayon polyclinic; the certificate must include the precise length of disability). Mothers whose children are over 3-years of age before 15 July of the year of application must have worked continuously after the completion of that age and until the competition examinations; cases related to interruption or insufficient labor practice during that period must be decided by the chairman of the central examinations commission in accordance with the stipulations of "e;"

h. The duration of the working time stipulated in letters "a," "b," and "c," and in Article 26, Paragraphs 7 and 8, and Article 33, Paragraph 1, Item 4, are based on a full working day.

Article 6. (1) Candidate students for all VIIZs (with the exception of the arts) must have a minimal number of points before they can be accepted as candidates, as follows:

1. Kl. Okhridski Sofia University (Kl. Okhridski SU), P. Khilendarski University in Plovdiv (P. Khilendarski PU), Kiril i Metodiy University in Veliko Turnovo (Kiril i Metodiy VTU), Higher Pedagogical Institute in Shumen (Shumen VPI), Higher Pedagogical Institute in Blagoevgrad (Blagoevgrad VPI), Higher Medical in Sofia (Sofia VMI), Higher Medical Institute in Plovdiv (Plovdiv VMI), Higher Medical Institute in Varna (Varna VMI), Higher Medical Institute in Pleven (Pleven VMI) and Higher Medical Institute in St. Zagora (St. Zagora VMI) and for the study of pharmacy, 13.5, being the average of the overall grade in the diploma for completed secondary education and the grades, as marked in the diploma, in subjects which are part of the competition total (Appendixes 1, 2 and 3);

2. For the remaining VUZs and for the subject pedagogy of graphic art, 9.00, consisting of the overall grade in the diploma for completed secondary education and the grades in the diploma in the first special subject participating in forming the competition grading (Appendixes 1, 2, and 3).

(2) The requirement of a minimal grade for admission to the competition does not apply to the candidates who, by 15 July of the year of application, have worked without interruption for no less than 2 years after completing their secondary education and were still employed at the time of application. This is certified with a transcript-excerpt of the labor card. No minimal grade will be required of young people who have completed their military service or those who are being discharged from military service during the year of candidacy.

Article 7. (1) Individuals whose diploma for completed secondary education in Bulgarian secondary schools does not list a grade for the special subjects which, as per Appendix No 1, participate in the grading points, may not apply for the corresponding professional areas or subjects. Those who have not studied biology and Bulgarian geography may take equalization examinations in biology and Bulgarian geography, on the level of the unified secondary polytechnical schools (ESPU) program at schools listed by the okrug public education administrations. Their grades will be certified with a proper document and they will be accepted as candidates for VUZs in the respective areas or specialties. The diploma grade for a western language they have studied will apply in the case of candidates in the specialty classical philology, whose diploma for completed secondary education does not include a grade for ancient Greek and Latin, in determining the competition grading.

(2) Candidate students, Bulgarians or foreign citizens, who are graduates of Soviet secondary schools, may not apply in the respective professional areas or specialties unless their secondary education diplomas include grades in the subjects stipulated in Appendix No 1 and, for some subjects, Appendix No 2.

(3) Bulgarian and foreign candidate students, who are graduates of non-Bulgarian and non-Soviet secondary schools may not apply in the various professional areas and specialties unless their diploma for completed secondary education includes grades for the subjects stipulated in Appendix No 1 and, for some other subjects, Appendix No 3.

Article 8. (1) The following will not be allowed to apply for regular VUZ studies:

1. Individuals with completed higher education;
2. Students attending schools higher than the secondary education level, unless they submit a certificate that they have withdrawn. An exception is allowed only for art VUZs and for architecture, for which first and second-year candidate students of the VUZ may apply, without withdrawing, and providing that they have passed successfully all their tests for the first (or second) year with an average grade for completed school years not below good (4.00), and providing that they have not been accepted as students on the basis of a contract for meeting territorial or departmental requirements;
3. Bulgarian People's Army and Construction Troops draftees if they are not subject to discharge during the year of candidacy;
4. Individuals suffering from diseases which do not permit normal studies and exercise of their profession in the respective field (Appendix No 7);
5. Individuals guilty of severe antisocial actions as established by a document issued by the respective state authority.

(2) The department of architecture at the Higher Institute of Architecture and Construction, Sofia (VIAS) and at the BDK, Kr. Sarafov VITIZ, the Nikolay Pavlovich Higher Graphic Arts Institute, Sofia (N. Pavlovich VIII), the Higher Musical-Pedagogical Institute in Plovdiv (Plovdiv VMPI), in subjects for which no correspondence training is offered, will accept also individuals with completed higher training, providing that they have worked no less than 3 years in their specialty after graduation and have not been accepted as students on the basis of a contract for meeting territorial and departmental requirements.

Article 9. Foreign citizens who are either permanent or temporary residents in the Bulgarian People's Republic have the right to apply to a VUZ in accordance with the procedures stipulated in this regulation.

Article 10. (1) Candidacy for a VUZ will be according to professional area or specialty, in accordance with a student enrollment plan approved by the Ministry of Public Education (MNP).

(2) Candidates may apply only to one VUZ in any professional area or specialty, depending on their examinations. An exception will be allowed for applicants to the N. Pavlovich VIII, Kr. Sarafov VITIZ, the BDK and VMPI in Plovdiv, who may also apply to another VUZ.

(3) Applications for two specialties are allowed for the BDK, Kr. Sarafov VITIZ and Plovdiv VMPI. Only one specialty may be applied for at the N. Pavlovich VIII.

(4) Candidates for medicine, stomatology and pharmacy will submit their documents and take the competitive examinations at the higher medical

institute according to their place of residence, as per Appendix No 8. Accepted students in these areas will be trained as follows:

1. Medicine: in a VUZ as per Appendix No 8 and Article 29, Paragraph 1;
2. Stomatology: residents of Plovdiv, Pazardzhik, Kurdzhali, Sliven, Burgas, Khaskovo, Smolyan, Yambol, Stara Zagora, Gabrovo and Varna Okrugs, at the Plovdiv VMI; residents of the remaining okrugs, at the Sofia VMI;

3. Pharmacy: the Medical Academy in Sofia.

(5) In the professional area of construction, candidates for the VIAS will be considered separately for a certain number of planned openings in the construction department and a certain number of planned openings at the hydroengineering department.

(6) For all specialties offered at the Vasil Kolarov Higher Agricultural Institute in Plovdiv (V. Kolarov VSI) and the Higher Institute for Zootechnology and Veterinary Medicine in Stara Zagora (VIZVM), the specialties of economics and management of agriculture, at the Karl Marx Higher Economics Institute (Karl Marx VII) and the D.A. Tsenov Higher Financial-Economic Institute in Svishtov (D.A. Tsenov VFSI), comprehensive mechanization and assembly lines in agriculture at the Angel Kunchev Higher Technical School in Ruse (A. Kunchev VTU), openings for students will be allocated by okrug and announced in the admission plan. Only candidates living in the respective okrug will be accepted.

(7) Candidates for the V.I. Lenin Higher Machine-Electrical Engineering Institute in Sofia (V.I. Lenin VMEI) may also apply to the institute's branch in Plovdiv and the Center for Training and Upgrading Skills of Engineering-Pedagogical Cadres in Sliven. Candidacies will be processed by the V.I. Lenin VMEI in Sofia.

Part II

Candidacy Documents

Article 11. (1) Within the deadlines stipulated in Appendix No 9, the candidate students will submit personally or through others the following documents:

1. Petition (form) to the rector;
2. Diploma certifying to the completion of secondary training (original copy).

In this case:

a. Diplomas for completed semi-higher or higher educational institutions and technicums on a level superior to secondary training will not be accepted;

b. Graduates of secondary schools in the Soviet Union will submit their original diploma, which must not be legalized by the MNP;

c. Graduates of secondary schools in non-Bulgarian and non-Soviet schools abroad who have completed their training prior to the year of candidacy will submit their original diploma legalized by the MNP; graduates during the year of candidacy will submit their original diploma, translated and certified by the embassy of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the respective country. The completed secondary education training and diplomas must be consistent with the educational level stipulated in Article 48, Paragraph 2. In both cases the candidates will submit a photostat of the diploma, certified by the MNP, in which the official will enter the grades for the individual subjects and the average grade in the diploma recalculated in terms of the 6-point system;

d. Instead of their original diploma, candidate students for a VUZ in the arts will submit a transcript-excerpt of the diploma for completed secondary training issued by the respective secondary school should they apply to another VUZ;

3. Internal passport confirming the place of residence if this is a stipulation for candidacy and admission. Young people to be discharged from the armed forces will submit a declaration (form) certifying to their place of residence;

4. Transcript-excerpt from their labor record (form) certified by the management of the enterprise or establishment, certifying to labor practice;

5. Document on the forthcoming discharge from the armed forces during the year of candidacy, issued by the respective unit;

6. Military record (of people who have completed their military service in previous years) which, after investigation of the data, will be returned to the candidate;

7. Declaration (form) submitted by candidate students not subject to military service for being under 18 by 31 December of the year of candidacy. Such declaration must also be submitted by candidate students who are foreign citizens;

8. A character reference for enrollment in a VUZ, drafted by the school principal, head of department, economic organizations and establishments, or commanding officer of the military unit, together with party and Komsomol managements. The candidate students, with the exception of those stipulated in Article 9, will submit their character reference in an envelope sealed and stamped by the department;

9. Candidate students for international relations, international economic relations and journalism will submit a character reference and recommendation issued by the respective executive committee of the okrug (Sofia) people's councils and the bureau of the okrug (Sofia City) Komsomol committee; in the case of candidates for pedagogy of Pioneer and Komsomol activities, by the respective obshtina (rayon) Komsomol committee. To this effect between 10 and

20 April they shall submit to the respective obshtina (rayon) people's council or Komsomol committee (for the subject of pedagogy of Pioneer and Komsomol activities) at their permanent place of residence, the following documents: petition for a character reference-recommendation (form); personal character reference of the candidate (for married people also a character reference for the wife or husband) issued by the school they attend, the military unit in which they serve or the socialist organization in which they work, as well as an official character reference from the place of work for both parents;

10. Candidate students for journalism will submit their materials published in the press or broadcast on television and radio, should such exist, certified by the editors in chief of the rayon television studios, radio stations or radio-television centers in the country and, in the case of Radio Sofia and Bulgarian Television, the program directors. Materials published in the press will be submitted immediately after taking the written examination in journalism, in files and in a separate inscribed envelope, to the office of the Department of Journalism;

11. Candidate students of the G. Dimitrov VIF, bearers of the titles Deserving Master of Sports, Master of Sports, or Candidate Master of Sports will submit their cards certifying to these titles. Standards for the title Candidate Master of Sports must be ratified during the 2-year period before 15 July of the year of candidacy and, in the case of soldiers, a period of 2 years prior to entering the services. Candidate-Masters of Sports will certify their title on the basis of their sports-grading card certified by the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union for Physical Culture and Sports, and a form declaration of the G. Dimitrov VIF, certified by the respective federation;

12. Document entitling to priority as per Article 26, Paragraph 1, 2, 7, 8 and 9;

13. Candidate students as per Article 26, Paragraph 17, will submit a diploma for completed secondary medical training;

14. A certificate issued by the VUZ showing that the applicant has completed his first higher education, to the effect that he was not accepted on a priority basis for meeting territorial or departmental needs for specialists with higher education (for candidates as per Article 8, Paragraph 2);

15. A certificate issued by the VUZ in which the person was a first or second-year student and continues to be a student (for candidates as per Article 8, Paragraph 1, Item 2, in an art VUZ and for architecture);

16. A certificate issued by the responding dean's office on completed semesters and semestrial examinations at the VUZ, for candidates who have successfully completed at least the first year, and who would like to regain their student rights. Such candidates will submit their documents in the VUZ they attended. The restoration is possible only for the area in which the candidate was a student or a related area if no such training is offered any longer at the respective VUZ. The person whose student rights are restored may not also apply once again in other professional areas or specialties;

17. Competition cards (form). The forms must be filled as follows:

- a. The candidates must list the professional areas or specialties issued in the plan for the enrollment of students in the order in which they would like to be rated, filling in the figures as stipulated in the instruction on filling candidate-student documents;
- b. The candidates will not be rated for professional areas or specialties, forms of training and consumers, not indicated in the competition cards;
- c. No changes in the competition cards will be allowed after the documents have been submitted;

18. Cards for the file, the incoming number and the communication (form);

19. Candidate students as per Article 26, Paragraph 14 will submit a declaration (form) certifying that after their admission as students they will sign a contract with the respective economic organizations to work in them no less than 10 years after graduation;

20. Candidate students as per Article 26, Paragraph 11, will submit an official note of employment at the Plant for Heavy Machine Building or the Heavy Machine Building Institute in Radomir.

(2) The documents submitted by the candidate students will be accepted for candidates applying for regular, correspondence or night school training.

(3) In submitting the candidate student petition, the official will accept it following an investigation, providing that it has been filled accurately and is accompanied by all the necessary documents. The official will issue the same incoming number for the petition and the incoming number card, which will be returned to the candidate, signed and sealed.

(4) No candidate student petitions will be accepted without all the necessary documents or documents which have not been filled accurately and legibly.

Article 12. (1) Candidate students who enroll in a VUZ without a competitive examination will submit their documents as per Article 11 within the deadlines stipulated in Appendix No 9.

(2) After the stipulated deadlines, no documents will be accepted and no changes in issued documents will be made.

Part III

Competitive Examinations, Organization and Taking

Article 13. (1) Candidate students will take the competitive examinations in their special subjects as stipulated in Appendixes Nos 1, 4 and 5.

(2) Candidate students for the G. Dimitrov VIF will take examinations for the special subjects in accordance with the institute's program for competitive examinations and a written test in social science.

(3) Candidate students for an arts VUZ will take the competitive examinations for the special subjects in accordance with the regulation on the admission of students in higher educational institutions for the arts of the KK and a written test in social science.

(4) The competitive examinations will be based on programs approved by the MNP and drafted by the ESPU in accordance with the subject curriculums.

(5) The topics for written competition examinations will be based on the curriculum for each competitive subject. They will be selected at random and announced at the time stipulated in Appendix No 6.

Article 14. (1) The organization and taking of competitive tests will be organized by the VUZ with the help of commissions appointed by order of the rector.

(2) Competitive examinations will be based on a schedule as per Appendix No 6. The duration of the written competitive test (with the exception of drawing) will be 5 hours.

Article 15. (1) Candidate students will take their competition examinations at the VUZ to which they have submitted their documents.

(2) The results of the competitive examinations will constitute an acknowledgment of participation in the competition only for the year during which they were taken.

(3) Written competitive tests will be anonymous.

(4) Candidate students who show up for a test after the topic has been announced will not be allowed to take the test.

(5) In cases of proven cribbing or attempt at cribbing, or an attempt to violate the anonymous nature of the competition with a mark, special color, word, etc., the written work of the candidate student will be annulled by the chairman of the examination commission; the candidate will be deprived of the right to further participation in the competition.

(6) Oral tests, as stipulated in Appendixes Nos 1, 4 and 5, will be administered by a three-member commission. The staffing of the commissions and the assignment of the candidates for the test will take place on the day of the examination before its start.

(7) The oral test for music, speech and communicative possibilities for the subjects indicated in Appendix No 1 with the figures 29.3, 29.4 and 29.5, will consist of two parts: the first part will be a test of speech and communicative possibilities; the second part will be a test of musical possibilities.

Part IV

Checking and Investigation of Written Examinations and Rating

Article 16. (1) Written tests in all school subjects will be checked and rated by two teachers independently, with an accuracy of up to 0.25.

(2) If the difference in grades as set by the two teachers is 0.25, the final grade will be rounded up in favor of the candidate student. If the difference is 0.50, the final grade will be the mean arithmetical of the two grades.

(3) If the difference in grading of the two teachers exceeds 0.50, the work will be submitted to arbitration and the final grade will be within the range of the first two.

(4) Written works in social science test will be rated by a single teacher as "passed" or "failed," and will be checked by an arbiter whose grading will be final.

(5) The written competitive examination in Bulgarian language and literature for journalism will be considered passed if the grade is not lesser than good (4.00). Candidate students with a grade below good (4.00) will be barred from further participation in the competition on this subject.

(6) The drawing test for pedagogy of graphic art will be considered passed if the sum of the grades for the two parts is no lower than 8.00 and if neither has been rated poor (2.00).

(7) The drawing examination for architecture and landscaping will be considered passed if the mean arithmetical grade of the individual parts of the examination is not less than good (4.00) and if the candidate has not been rated poor (2.00) in either of them.

(8) The oral examinations will be rated with an accuracy of up to 0.25. The grade set by the commission will be final.

(9) The individual parts of the oral examination for testing the music, speech and communicative possibilities, as stipulated in Article 15, Paragraph 7, will be rated "passed" or "failed." The candidate students with a grade "failed" for the first part of the examination will be barred from participation in the second part and the competition.

Article 17. After all written works have been rated by all testing teachers the final grades will be entered with the main explanation and signed.

Article 18. (1) The results of written competitive examinations will be announced no later than 10 days after they have been held.

(2) Subsequent to the announcement of the results of the written test, within 5 days, as announced by the VUZ, the candidate students may be shown their written test and the explanation for the grades.

Article 19. The announced gradings of written works will be final and no second grading will be allowed.

Article 20. (1) The rating of the candidate students, with the exception of the subjects as per Article 21, will be based on the following gradings.

1. The grade of the competitive examination from the first special subject for the respective professional area or specialty, times two;
2. The grade of the competitive examination for the second special subject for the professional area or specialty for which a competitive examination is taken;
3. The overall grade in the diploma for completed secondary education;
4. The grades for two subjects from the diploma for completed secondary education as per Appendixes Nos 1, 2 and 3.

(2) The overall competitive grade will be lowered by 1 point in the case of candidate students who have been rated "failed" for the second part (Article 15, Paragraph 7) of the oral examination for music, speech and communicative possibilities.

Article 21. (1) The grading for the following subjects will be established as follows:

1. Journalism: double the grade of the written competitive examination in journalism, the grade of the oral examination in journalism, the grade of the competitive examination in Bulgarian language and literature, the overall grade in the diploma for completed secondary education and the grade for history as marked in the diploma;
2. Pedagogy of graphic art: double the grade for each of the two parts of the competitive examination in drawing, the grade of the examination in Bulgarian language and literature and the overall grade as marked in the diploma for completed secondary education;
3. Architecture: double the mean arithmetical grade for the three parts of the examination in drawing, the grade of the examination in mathematics, the overall grade in the diploma for completed secondary education and the grade for mathematics in the diploma for completed secondary education;
4. Landscaping: double the mean arithmetical grade of either part of the competitive examination in drawing, the grade of the competition examination in mathematics, the overall grade in the diploma for completed secondary education and the grade in mathematics in the diploma;
5. Classical philology: double the grade of the comprehensive test in ancient Greek and Latin, the grade from the examination in Bulgarian language and literature, the overall grade in the diploma for completed secondary education, the average arithmetical grade for ancient Greek and Latin (western language) and the grade for Bulgarian language and literature in the diploma;

6. International tourism: grades of the competitive examinations in Bulgarian geography and the respective western language, the general grade of the diploma for completed secondary education, and the Bulgarian language, literature and mathematics grades in the diploma.

(2) The admission of students for the subjects of international relations and international economic relations is based on a separate procedure approved by the ministers of public education, trade and foreign affairs.

(3) In the Kr. Sarafov VITIZ, the EDK, N. Pavlovich VIII and the VMPI in Plovdiv, the competition examinations, the computation of points and the rating will be based on a procedure stipulated in the regulation issued by the Committee for Culture on the admission of students to higher educational institutions for the arts.

(4) For the G. Dimitrov Higher Institute for Physical Culture, the competitive examinations, the points and the grading are based on the stipulations of the G. Dimitrov VIF.

Article 22. The following candidate students may not be rated:

1. Those who have received a failing grade (2.00) in any one of the competitive examinations for the special subjects in a given professional area or specialty;
2. Those who failed to appear for a test in the special subject or the social sciences;
3. Those who have not taken the oral examination for the test of their music, speech and communicative possibilities or have failed in the first part of the examination.

Part V

Rating

Article 23. (1) Depending on the examinations which were taken, the rating will be based on a diminishing number of points in the following order:

1. The rating of every candidate student will be in the order of his wishes as indicated in the competition card. The wishes will be noted with a corresponding mark and will mean a specific professional area or specialty and form of training and, in some cases, the consumer for whose needs corresponding planned vacancies exist;

2. Candidate students as per Article 26, Paragraphs 7, 8, 9 and 17 will be rated on a priority basis or on the basis of general rules for the professional area or specialty and form of training, consistent with the priority choice, in accordance with the order as indicated in the competition card;

3. Candidate students as per Article 26, Paragraph 10, will be rated initially for target planned openings in the respective settlement system, in

accordance with the desired order of professional areas or specialties and forms of training indicated in card No 3 of the competitive card. Initially the rating will be only for candidates who are residents of any settlement within the respective settlement system. If there are no such candidates or if their number is insufficient, further rating for remaining target planned openings will be made accessible to the remaining population of the okrug who are applying for a place within the same settlement system. Should even after that target planned openings remain, in the course of the rating they will be transferred to places within the same settlement system assigned to another category of candidates (correspondingly, men who have completed their military service or women); such rating will essentially follow the procedure indicated in this item. In such rating the advantages granted as per Article 26, Paragraphs 7, 9 and 17 will not apply. Nominated candidates for a target planned opening who, however, have a competition rating no lesser than the one stipulated in Paragraph 2 and in Article 37, Paragraph 2, will further participate in the rating in accordance with the procedure indicated in Items 1 and 2;

4. Candidate students as per Article 26, Paragraph 11, will be rated initially for the target planned openings in the Plant for Heavy Machine Building and the Institute for Heavy Machine Building in Radomir in accordance with the order indicated in card No 3 of the competition card for professional areas or specialties and forms of training. In the course of such rating the advantages granted as per Article 26, Paragraphs 7 and 9 will not apply. Candidates for target planned openings who have not been rated but whose competition total is no lower than the one stipulated in Paragraph 2 and in Article 37, Paragraph 2, will participate in the rating as per Items 1 and 2;

5. If target planned openings remained unfilled for lack of insufficient number of candidates as per Article 10, Paragraph 6, and Article 26, Paragraph 13, they will be transferred to vacancies for the same okrug assigned for the other category of candidates (correspondingly for men who have completed their military service or women) with a rating based on the procedure stipulated in Items 1 and 2. Such transfer of vacancies will not apply to comprehensive mechanization and assembly lines in agriculture.

(2) All candidates who have successfully passed the competitive examinations for the special subjects in the respective professional areas or specialties and whose point rating is not lower than 24.00 (on the basis of the 6-point grading system) and 20.00 (on the basis of the 5-point grading system) have the right to participate in the rating.

Article 24. (1) The rating will be based on the stipulated planned vacancies for VUZs, professional areas or specialties in three categories: for men who have completed their military service, women and conscripts.

(2) Young people who are under 18 years of age by 31 December of the year of candidacy will be rated as though having completed their military service.

(3) Young people free from military service or deferred by the drafting commissions for health reasons before the date of submission of their

candidate student documents will be rated with the category of men who have completed their military service.

(4) The ratio between men and women will be 1:1. In some professional areas or specialties and specific consumers requiring more men or more women, a different ratio will be set by the MNP. This ratio will be shown in the plan for the admission of new students.

(5) Candidate students who participate in the competitive examinations for restoration of student rights for the second or subsequent year will be rated in a separate category without filling planned vacancies. It is only those whose competitive grade is not lower than the one stipulated in Article 23, Paragraph 2, and Article 37, Paragraph 2, who can enroll.

Article 25. (1) The results of the rating will be announced for all VUZs (with the exception of the arts) by no later than 20 August.

(2) All accepted students will be informed in writing by the higher educational establishments on deadlines and conditions for registration.

(3) Any vacancy left after the rating will be filled with subsequent ratings. Requirements regarding the candidates who are allowed to participate in the second rating will be determined by the minister of public education and published together with the list of vacancies.

(4) Vacancies will be announced in the newspaper NARODNA MLADZH before 25 August.

(5) Candidate students who were not accepted in the first rating and who would like to participate in the second rating for filling vacancies, will submit petitions between 25 and 28 August (form) to the rector of the VUZ in which they have applied. The petition will indicate the desired rating order. Applications for vacancies to meet the needs of the okrugs may be submitted regardless of the place of residence, with the exception of vacancies for Sofia, for which only Sofia residents may apply. Candidates who were not accepted for the specialty international relations may, in a second rating, apply for corresponding specialties--the teaching of history and philology--according to their success in the competitive examinations in foreign languages.

(6) The second rating will be based on the number of points and the order of indicated preferences. No priorities will be given in such ratings. The results will be announced no later than on 1 September by the VUZ in which the individual applied first.

(7) Young people with deferred military service may, after submitting their candidate-student documents, participate in filling vacancies for men who have completed their military service providing that their deferring documents have been submitted before 28 August and that they have not been accepted in the first rating.

Article 26. (1) Heroes of the Bulgarian People's Republic and Heroes of Socialist Labor may be accepted without competitive examinations (nonplanned) for all professional areas or specialties. This option may be exercised only once.

(2) Candidate students who as seniors (last year) have rated in international secondary school competitive games during the year of the candidacy may be accepted without competitive examinations (unplanned) in the corresponding professional areas or specialties, providing that their overall grade in the diploma for completed secondary education is not below very good (5.00). Candidates as per this paragraph will be accepted as students as follows: participants in international mathematics and programming competitions--mathematics, computers and mathematics and computers; participants in international physics competitions--physics, engineering physics, physics and mathematics; participants in the international chemistry competitions--chemistry, chemistry and physics; participants in international competitions in mathematics and programming will be awarded the grade excellent (6.00) at the competitive examination in mathematics if they apply to a higher technical school, and participants in the international chemistry competition will be awarded the grade excellent (6.00) in the competitive examination in chemistry should they apply to a higher technical or medical school.

(3) Candidate students who have participated as seniors (last year) during the year of candidacy in the selected republic round of the competitions in mathematics, programming, physics and chemistry, or the republic round of the competitions in biology, literature, Russian language or biotechnology, and whose grades are not lower than excellent (5.50), or else whose sum total of points equals a grading not lower than excellent (5.50) will be considered as having passed the corresponding examination for candidates for universities, technical, medical, agricultural and pedagogical VUZs, with the same grade, providing that their overall diploma grade for completed secondary education is not below excellent (5.50). The following competitive examinations will be recognized: for participants in competitions for mathematics and programming: mathematics; participants in the competitions for physics: physics; participants in the chemistry competition: chemistry; participants in the competition for biology: biology; participants in the literature competition: Bulgarian language and literature; participants in the Russian language competition: Russian language; participants in the biotechnology competition: depending on the nature of the development, as stipulated by a central jury, one of the examinations in mathematics, chemistry or biology. Candidate students who, as seniors (last year) have participated during the year of candidacy in the final round of the national political competition for secondary school youth, as well as candidate students who have participated during the year of candidacy in the competition for labor youth and whose total number of points, equaling a grade not lower than good (4.00) will be considered as having "passed" the examination in social science regardless of the general grade on the diploma for completed secondary education. These candidate students will take the remaining competitive examinations for the respective professional areas or specialties similar to all other candidates. Their rating will be like those of the remaining candidates in the respective category according to the plan for student enrollment. The computation of

their grades on the basis of the 6-point system will be made by the central juries as instructed by the MNP and the Komsomol Central Committee.

(4) Bearers of the gold badge "For Youth Scientific and Technical Creativity" from the national youth scientific and technical competitions of the last republic review of youth technical and scientific creativity and seniors (last year) bearers of the gold badge "For Youth Scientific and Technical Creativity" from the republic secondary school scientific and technical conferences held during the year of candidacy will be considered having passed the competitive examination in one of the special subjects for the corresponding professional area or specialty (excluding art, architecture, landscaping, and graphic art pedagogy) with an excellent grade (6.00) if their discipline coincides with the area of displayed creativity by the candidate and providing that their overall grade in their diploma for completed secondary education is not below excellent (5.50), and that the grades in the diploma for the point-forming disciplines are not lower than excellent (5.50). Such candidates will take the remaining examinations like all other applicants. Their rating will be based on the same system as that of the other candidates in the respective category, according to the plan for student enrollment. Those who wish to exercise their priority as per the present paragraph will submit a petition to the Republic Center for Technical and Scientific Creativity of Youth (2a Al. Stamboliyski Boulevard, Sofia) between 1 May and 20 June (for secondary school graduates prior to the year of candidacy) and from 5 to 10 July (for secondary school graduates during the year of candidacy).

(5) Bearers of gold, silver or bronze medals from olympic games, world and European championships for men and women or a gold medal from world or European championships for young people, boys and girls, will be considered as having passed all practical competitive examinations for the G. Dimitrov VIF with an excellent grade (6.00). They must take their competitive examination only for social sciences and participate in the rating with the remaining candidates in the respective category in accordance with the student enrollment plan. For the coaching department they will be rated only for the subject in which they have earned a medal; for the remaining departments and for correspondence training, they will be rated like anyone else. Medals presented to boys and girls must have been won in the last competition prior to candidacy for a VUZ. The medals for hockey on ice competition must have been won in group "A" of the respective championship.

(6) Up to 20 percent of the planned vacancies will be held for graduates of 8-month VUZ preparatory courses, in accordance with Regulation No 4 of the conditions and procedure for organizing preparatory courses at higher educational establishments for candidate students who are workers or rural youth, issued by the MNP (OV, No 24, 1979; amended and supplemented, No 37, 1986).

(7) Candidate students with no less than 2 years of uninterrupted employment (by 15 July) as workers in material production, such as industrial enterprises (plants, factories, mines, industrial combines), construction projects, forest farms, transportation, PAK and APK, who are still employed as workers at the time of candidacy, will compete for up to 15 percent of openings within the

plan, respectively for the categories of men who have completed their military service or women, in all professional areas or specialty (with the exception of arts, architecture, landscaping, pedagogy of graphic art and those indicated in Paragraph 8).

(8) Candidates who have worked no less than 2 years without interruption (by 15 July) as workers in agriculture and are continuing to perform the same work at the time of candidacy, may compete for 15 percent of openings within the framework of the plan, respectively for the categories of men who have completed their military service and women, for agricultural institutes and for agricultural economics and management at the Karl Marx VII and the D.A. Tsanov VFSI and for complex mechanization and assembly lines in agriculture at the Angel Kunchev VTU.

(9) Candidate students children of active fighters against fascism and capitalism and of military servicemen who have died in service; those pensioned in accordance with the now deleted Articles 28 and 30 "a" of the Law on Pension may compete for 10 percent of the openings as planned. Candidates will be given priority only if they score an equal number of points at the BDK, N. Pavlovich VIII, Kr. Sarafov VIIIZ and the VMPI in Plovdiv and for the specialties architecture, landscaping and pedagogy of graphic art. The openings will be determined for each professional area of specialty for the categories of men who have completed their military service, conscripts and women.

(10) Approved target places for the needs of settlement systems as stipulated in Appendix No 3 of Decree No 22 of the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers on the accelerated socioeconomic development of settlement systems of the fourth and fifth functional types, the border areas and the Strandzha-Sakar area for the 8th 5-Year Plan and until 1990 (DV, No 42, 1982; amended and supplemented, No 13, 1985 and No 10, 1987) will be open for competition to candidate students who, by the day of submission of their documents to the VUZ were residents of the respective okrug. No target openings as per this paragraph will be planned for specialties at art VUZs the V. Kolarov VSI and the VIZVM and the specialties economics and management of agriculture and comprehensive mechanization and assembly lines in agriculture. The candidate students may indicate three preferences consistent with the approved target planned places for the needs of no more than one settlement system, by entering the respective codes. Simultaneous candidacy as per Articles 10 and 11 is not allowed.

(11) For approved target planned openings as per Article 2, Paragraph 1, of Council of Ministers Letter No 36 of 1985 on Accelerating the Recruitment of Workers and Specialists for the Heavy Machine Building Plant and the Institute for Heavy Machine Building in Radomir (DV, No 55, 1985), the competition will be among candidate students who have worked in these enterprises on the date of submission of their documents to the VUZ. Simultaneous candidacy as per Article 10 and 11 will not be allowed.

(12) For approved target planned openings as per Article 25 of Council of Ministers Letter No 59 of 1985, on additional steps for the further stabilization of production in the power industry and mining and for

eliminating temporary difficulties in electric power supplies in the country in 1985 and 1986 (DV, No 85, 1985; amended, No 2, 1986), and order No 12 of the Council of Ministers of 1986 on the prompt completion of the sixth power block of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant (unpublished) candidates may be apply regardless of their place of residence.

(13) Individuals who, by the date of submission of documents to a VUZ, have been residents of the respective okrug may apply for the approved target planned openings to meet the needs of the okrugs. The residency must have been acquired no later than on 15 June of the preceding year. Anyone, regardless of residence, may apply for target planned places for teaching various subjects in Kmdzhali Okrug.

(14) Conscripts who would like to be admitted as per Regulation No 8 on settling the regular military service of young people who are trained in areas particularly needed by the economy may compete for the specified number of openings indicated in the plan for student enrollment (DV, No 62, 1985).

(15) Candidate students who are graduates of the Akad. L. Chakalov National Natural Science-Mathematics High School, with a grade in the secondary education diploma not lesser than very good (5.00) and grades in the subjects in the diploma which participate in forming the point rating not lesser than very good (5.00) during the year of candidacy may enroll without competitive examinations (nonplanned) in the respective professional areas or specialties, for regular university and pedagogical VUZ training. The Ministry of Public Education will determine the number of openings by candidate category, professional area or specialty and assign them by VUZ, as follows: graduates with a major in mathematics: mathematics, mathematics and computers, computers; with a major in physics: physics, engineering physics, physics and mathematics; graduates with a major in biology: biology, biology and chemistry, and biology and microbiology; graduates with a major in biotechnology: biotechnology; graduates with a major in chemistry: chemistry, and chemistry and physics. The candidates will be rated in the order of their points based on the grades from ratings in the respective two special subjects and the general grade in the secondary education diploma.

(16) Individuals who are residents of Sofia and meet requirements for training by correspondence may apply for the approved target planned places for correspondence training to meet the needs of the city of Sofia. Their residency must have been acquired not later than 15 July of the year preceding the candidacy.

(17) Candidates who have graduated in specific subjects in the institutes for training health cadres with secondary specialized training and the ESPI in the training-professional health care area and who, by 15 July of the year of candidacy, have worked no less than 1 year in their field without interruption, and are continuing to be employed in the same field, may compete for up to 15 percent of the openings for students in higher medical institutes and in pharmacy. Candidates for such openings may be registered nurses, general practice; registered pediatric nurses, medical laboratory technicians, feldshers, midwives, dental nurses, dental technicians and assistant pharmacists.

Article 27. Candidates as per Article 26 will participate in the rating for the respective planned openings providing that their competitive rating is not below the one stipulated in Article 23, Paragraph 2 (for regular training) and Article 37, Paragraph 2 (for correspondence and night school training). This stipulation does not apply to candidates as per Article 26, Paragraph 9.

Article 28. The openings as per Article 26, Paragraphs 6-9 and 17, unfilled due to the insufficient number of candidates or failure to reach the minimal overall competitive rating points in the first rating will be filled in the order of the point rating of candidates not entitled to such advantages.

Article 29. (1) Students accepted for the study of medicine at the Plovdiv VMI, who are residents of Pazardzhik and Smolyan Okrug, starting with the sixth semester will continue their training at the Plovdiv VMI in Pazardzhik. Students accepted for the study of medicine at the Varna VMI, who are residents of Tolbukhin, Razgrad, Turgovishte, Shumen and Silistia Okrugs, starting with the sixth semester, will continue their training at the Varna VMI branch in Tolbukhin.

(2) Students accepted for all specialties at the V. Kolarov VSI and the VIZVM, who have signed a work contract for Northern Bulgaria, will continue their training during the third training stage at the base for upgrading cadre skills and specialized training in Vratsa.

(3) Students accepted for the specialties technology of biological production at the Higher Chemical and Technological Institute in Sofia (Sofia VKHTI) and the Higher Food Industry Institute in Plovdiv (VIKIIP), and biotechnology at the V.I. Lenin VMEI, will complete their first training stage at the Kl. Ohridski SU and, after successful graduation, will continue their training at the VUZ where they were accepted as students.

Part VI

Registration of New Students

Article 30. (1) New students from the first rating will register between 20 and 31 August and those from the second rating by 8 September.

(2) Students accepted through the preparatory 8-month courses (Article 26, Paragraph 6) will register by no later than 10 July.

(3) Young people accepted as students 2 years ago, who were scheduled for discharge from the armed forces during the year of entering the first course, will register by no later than 31 August.

(4) Students who have failed to register within the stipulated deadlines as per Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 will forfeit their student rights.

(5) The registration of the new students will be based on an order issued by the sector.

Article 31. In registering, in addition to the documents as per Article 11, Paragraph 1, the new students will submit the following documents:

1. Curriculum vitae;
2. Health certificate issued by the health institution servicing the respective VUZ, based on presentation of the notification of acceptance in the VUZ, certificate issued by the rayon psychiatric outpatient institution at the place of permanent residence of the student, a personal outpatient card issued by the medical institution which has treated the individual until his acceptance in the VUZ, and the card of the fluorographic examination, if such has been made in the past 2 years. Conscripts and individuals discharged from the armed service during the same year will not be required to present a health certificate;
3. Six 4 x 6 photographs;
4. Contract (form) with the consumer, for whose planned opening the student has been accepted to work in his field after graduation. The mandatory length of work of such students as per Article 10, Paragraph 3, and Article 26, Paragraphs 10-14, will be 10 years;
5. Documents for the registration of new students (form);
6. Young people who have completed their military service will submit their military document which will be returned to them after investigation. Deferred students will present a deferment document;
7. Internal passport;
8. Young men and women accepted as students, who have completed the 8-month preparatory courses in a VUZ will be registered in accordance with the procedure stipulated in Regulation No 4 of the MNP on organizing preparatory VUZ courses for candidate students members of the worker and rural youth. In the course of their registration they must also submit a contract with the enterprise which has assigned them, stipulating that they will work no less than 10 years where assigned.

Article 32. (1) Young men 18 years of age subject to military service and accepted as students as conscripts will register but will enter the VUZ after completing their military service. This stipulation does not apply to young people accepted as students as per Article 26, Paragraph 14.

(2) Young men rated and accepted as students while being conscripts but freed or deferred from military service after submitting their candidate student documents will register in the VUZ and continue with their education providing that their release or deferment and registration in a VUZ take place no later than 15 September of the year of candidacy.

(3) Conscripts either released from military service or deferred for : yes/, accepted as students, will serve in the armed forces after graduating from the higher school. The same applies to young men under 18 years of age during the

year they have been accepted in the VUZ (Article 46 and 47 of the Law on Universal Military Service in the Bulgarian People's Republic).

Chapter 2

Correspondence and Night School Training

Part I

Candidacy Stipulations

Article 33. (1) Individuals of either sex may apply for correspondence or night school training in a Bulgarian VUZ if they meet the following stipulations:

1. To have completed their secondary education;
 2. To be under the age of 40 in the year of candidacy, regardless of the day and month of birth, for the G. Dimitrov VIF not over 38 and, for acting at the puppet theater at the Kr. Sarafov VITIZ, not over 35;
 3. The men must have completed or be free from military service;
 4. Applicants must have no less than 1 year labor practice by 1 October of the year of candidacy without interruption in the area of the specialties they are applying for and be employed in the same job; for the preceding periods they must meet the stipulations for work as per Article 5, Paragraph 1, Item 3. Those appointed as per Article 68, Item 3, of the Labor Code may apply for correspondence or evening training if the work they are performing is consistent with the requirements of the specialties applied for and if they have completed the necessary labor practice;
 5. The candidates may be nominated by the management of the establishment, enterprise or organization in which they work. Positions held on a voluntary basis, or full-time or part-time work for a fee do not entitle the individual to correspondence or night school training;
 6. Candidates for correspondence and night school training will not require a minimum point rating in applying for such forms of training.
- (2) The time spent in regular military service, regardless of the position, is considered labor practice for purposes of correspondence or night school training. The sole exception is the period of time spent in the armed services between 15 September and the day of the discharge, which is considered labor practice in the specialty.
- (3) A 1-year labor practice in agriculture after secondary school graduation will be granted as follows: after working no less than 200 days in crop growing or 250 days in other agricultural activities.
- (4) Mothers of children under the age of 3, who are not employed, may apply for correspondence or night school training without the necessary labor

practice and without being recommended by establishment, enterprises and organizations. If the candidate is employed, she must be recommended in accordance with general procedures although she may not have the necessary amount of labor practice. The child must not be older than one on 1 October during the year of candidacy.

(5) Candidates who do not work in their special field but who meet the remaining requirements for training by correspondence may be allowed to apply for the specialties Bulgarian language and literature, law, philosophy, psychology and history.

(6) Candidates who are permanent residents of the city and work in the city in which the VUZ is located are allowed to apply for night school training.

(7) Candidates for correspondence and night school training whose diploma for completed secondary education does not include grades in the specialized subjects stipulated in Appendixes 1, 2 and 3 in establishing the rating points may not apply for the corresponding specialties.

(8) Only regular journalists working in the mass information media, recommended by the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, on the suggestion of the leadership of the editorial boards, may apply to study journalism.

(9) Officers under the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Administration of Construction Troops may apply only by permission of the respective minister. The minister will determine the specialties for which the officer may apply. Career sergeants and master sergeants may apply by permission of the commander of the formation, the branch of the armed forces and the border troops and by permission of the commanders of administrations and autonomous departments of the Ministry of National Defense. The permission must specifically stipulate the subject for which they may apply.

(10) Personnel of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (officers, sergeants and volunteers) may apply for correspondence training in a VUZ only by permission of the chief of the respective unit. The chief of the unit will determine the specialty for which they may apply and issue a form certificate to the applicant. This certificate replaces form No 1 and the character reference required of candidate students.

(11) Organization workers holding full-time jobs in party, Komsomol and trade union organizations may apply for all subjects (with the exception of journalism) for which students by correspondence are accepted, by submitting a transcript of the resolution concerning their appointment.

(12) Young people who have started jobs on the basis of Article 17 of the Regulation on Settling Regular Military Service of Young People Employed at the L.I. Brezhnev MK of the Metallurgy SO, the Metalurgremont Enterprise and the Peshtoremont Enterprise of the Metalurgstroy SO in Sofia (DV No 9, 1977) have the right to apply and to continue their education in a VUZ by correspondence after 1 July of the second year of their work providing that they meet the remaining stipulations for correspondence and night school training.

Article 34. (1) Candidates for correspondence and night school training may also include, on a competitive basis, individuals who have completed their higher training, providing that they have no less than 3 years of labor practice by the final date for the submission of the documents for their specialty and meet the stipulations of Article 33.

(2) Individuals who meet the stipulations for correspondence training and work in their first chosen specialty, have 1 year labor practice in the specialty and have been recommended by the managements of the establishments, enterprises and organizations where they work, may apply for acquiring second higher training by correspondence in electronics and automation.

(3) Individuals who meet the stipulations for correspondence training, work in their first completed specialty and have 1 year labor practice in it and have been recommended by the management of enterprises, establishments and organizations may also apply for second higher training by correspondence in the areas of economics and industrial management, economics and management of construction, economics and management of agriculture, economics and management of transportation, and economics and management of trade. The candidates must be employed in one of the mentioned national economic sector. listed

Part II

Enrollment Documents

Article 35. Candidate students for correspondence or night school training must submit the following documents for VUZ enrollment:

1. The documents stipulated in Article 11, Paragraph 1, Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12, 16, 17 and 18;
2. Certificate No 1 (form) issued at their place of employment, signed by the administrative manager, the chief accountant and the trade union committee chairman. The certificate must include the specialties for which they are permitted to apply;
3. Transcript of the order (orders) for appointment, for the latest 1-year period of work;
4. Candidates for journalism will submit a detailed personnel and creative work reference issued by the management of the publication in which they work and the local journalism society, certified by the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, and a set of authored works in journalism (publications);
5. Candidate students for pedagogy of Pioneer and Komsomol activities will submit a character reference-recommendation as per Article 11, Paragraph 1, Item 9.

Article 36. The submission of documents, presentation for competitive examinations, rating of written works and computation of the rating points for correspondence and night school training will be based on the procedure followed in regular training.

Part III

Rating and Registration

Article 37. (1) The rating for correspondence and night school training will be based on the plan for the enrollment of students in the professional areas or specialties approved by the VUZ and in accordance with procedures stipulated in Article 23, Paragraph 1, Article 24, Paragraphs 4 and 5, Article 25 and Article 28. In the case of lack or insufficient number of candidates for the corresponding category, remaining vacancies from the first rating will apply to the other category for the same professional area or specialty and consumer; the rating will follow the procedure indicated in this paragraph.

(2) All candidates who have passed successfully their competitive examination in the special subjects with a point rating not lower than 21.00 (for the 6-point rating system) and 18.00 (for the 5-year point rating system) may qualify for the rating.

(3) Candidate students for correspondence and night school training may benefit from the advantages stipulated in Article 26, Paragraph 4, 5 and 9.

(4) Heroes of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Heroes of Socialist Labor, and bearers of the Georgi Dimitrov Red Labor Banner and People's Order of Labor, gold, will be accepted without competitive examinations, outside the plan, in all professional areas or specialties (excluding art, journalism, physical education and specialties for which a competitive examination in a foreign language is required), providing that they have met the stipulations of Article 33. This option may be exercised only once.

Article 38. (1) The registration of the newly accepted students for correspondence or night school training will take place within the deadlines stipulated in Article 30, Paragraph 1.

(2) Registering candidate students must submit the documents stipulated in Article 31, Items 1, 3, 4, 5 and 8, and Article 35. They must also submit a new official note specifying that they are continuing to work in the same specialty and the same establishment, enterprise or organization.

Section III

Selection of Students for Training in Foreign Higher Educational Institutions

Chapter 3

Regular Training

Part I

Candidacy Stipulations

Article 39. (1) The following may apply to continue their training in foreign VUZs:

1. First year students in Bulgarian VUZs during the current school year, who have passed their examinations at the January examination session with average grades not below good (4.00);

2. Soldiers to be discharged, who have been accepted as students in a VUZ with a rating not lower than 20.00 (based on the 5-point rating system), or a point rating not lower than 24.00 (on the basis of a 6-point rating system);

3. Newly registered students at a Bulgarian VUZ as per the stipulations of this regulation and first and second year students who have successfully completed their respective school year with average grades not below good (4.00), whose parents work abroad, as well as students who have married citizens of another country and who reside in that country;

4. Candidates as per Items 1, 2, and 3, accepted as students on the basis of target planned openings or who have been accepted on the basis of general requirements and have signed an individual work contract may apply for training in a foreign VUZ only with the written agreement of the respective consumer.

(2) Candidates as per Paragraph 1, Items 1 and 2, for pursuing their education in a VUZ in the GDR must be very fluent in written and spoken German.

Article 40. (1) Students who have not completed their military service or have not been released from it (with the exception of young people who have acquired student rights at the age of 17) may not be allowed to apply for training in a foreign VUZ.

(2) Bulgarian students are not allowed to pursue their training in a VUZ in capitalist or developing countries in the following subjects: philosophy, history, sociology, political economy, education, journalism, international relations, international economic relations (foreign trade), political economy, socioeconomic planning and the arts. Countries in which training in architecture is allowed will be stipulated by the MNP.

(3) Bulgarian citizens may not attend law school in a foreign VUZ.

Article 41. Student rights will not be recognized and diplomas for completed higher education will not be legalized in the case of Bulgarian citizens who are not permanent residents abroad and who have entered foreign VUZs in violation of the stipulations of the present regulation.

Part II

Candidacy Documents

Article 42. (1) By no later than 1 March the higher educational institutions must announce the list of specialties and countries in which the candidates as per Article 39, Paragraph 1, Items 1 and 2, may continue their training.

(2) Students wishing to continue their training abroad in the announced specialties must submit the following documents within the deadlines stipulated by the VUZ:

1. Petition to the rector (form);
2. Personal card;
3. Grade certificates;
4. Curriculum vitae;
5. Health certificate issued by the student polyclinic with the conclusion that the individual may train in the respective country in the respective subject.

(3) Students approved for continuing their education abroad must also submit the following:

1. Two 4 x 6 photographs with the three names of the candidate, based on the internal passport, and address inscribed on the back of the photograph;
2. Declaration on family status and material status, with a certificate on the gross income of the family for the preceding 12 months;
3. Contract (form) for work in the specialty after graduation, concluded with the consumer for whose needs the individual is sent abroad for training (for candidates as per Article 39, Paragraph 1, Items 1 and 2).

(4) Candidates as per Article 39, Paragraph 1, Item 2, must submit the documents stipulated in Paragraph 2 no later than 10 May; instead of a grade certificate they must submit a certificate for the overall rating points on the basis of which they were accepted as students, and the recommendation of the unit in which they serve.

(5) Candidates as per Article 39, Paragraph 1, Item 3, will submit through the VUZ and to the Ministry of Public Education--Higher Education Council (SVO), no later than 25 July (for first and second year students) and 25 August (for new students) the documents stipulated in Paragraph 2, as well as a document that at least one of the parents will be working abroad for no less than 2 years, or else a certificate of a marriage concluded by the student with a citizen of the respective country.

Part III

Selection of Candidates Accepted as Students in a Bulgarian VUZ for Training in Foreign VUZs

Article 43. (1) The documents of candidates for training in foreign VUZs will be reviewed by a commission appointed by the rector of the VUZ in which they are either studying or have been accepted.

(2) The initial rating of the students will be based on their grades at the January examination session and their sociopolitical activities and, in the case of students who are in the military, on the basis of the rating with which they were accepted as students and their sociopolitical activities.

(3) As much as 50 percent of the openings for all areas will be reserved for students who have completed no less than 2 years of labor practice in material production.

Article 44. (1) After the conclusion of the regular examination session for the summer semester, on the suggestion of the commission as per Article 43, Paragraph 1, the VUZ rector will issue an order indicating the specialty and country in which students will be allowed to continue their education in foreign VUZs.

(2) The final selection of students in all VUZs will be based on additional test administered by a special commission appointed by the rector of the respective VUZ.

(3) The orders of the rectors as per the preceding paragraphs will be made public by no later than 20 July and the approved students will be informed in writing by the VUZ.

Article 45. The higher educational institutions will supply the approved students with all the documents needed for obtaining a passport for foreign travel, for traveling at reduced prices, and so on, and will organize their travel to the respective countries at dates specified by the Higher Education Council.

Article 46. (1) First year students recommended by the commissions (as per Article 39, Paragraph 1, Item 1) for continuing their training in the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Poland will mandatorily attend courses for the study of the language of the respective country. The courses will be taught at the Kl. Okhridski SU and completed with a test.

(2) Students approved for training in the Hungarian People's Republic and the Romanian Socialist Republic will take a 1-year course in the respective country to study the language.

Article 47. The documents of the candidates for training in foreign VUZs as per Article 39, Paragraph 1, Item 3, will be reviewed by no later than 27 August and the approved candidates will be informed by the Higher Education Council of the MNP in writing at the address indicated in their petition.

Part IV

Enrollment of Candidate Students Who Have Completed Their Secondary Training Abroad

Article 48. (1) Candidate students who have completed their secondary training abroad may continue their training in the VUZ in the respective

country where at least one of their parents is employed, providing that the stipulations of Article 40 are met, as well as under the following conditions:

1. Graduates of secondary schools in the USSR may apply for enrollment in a Soviet VUZ in accordance with the stipulations of Soviet student enrollment regulations. To this effect they must have the permission of the Bulgarian embassy in Moscow. A necessary prerequisite for such a permission is to sign and submit to the embassy a declaration to the effect that after graduation they will work in Bulgaria in their specialty, in accordance with their qualifications;

2. Secondary school graduates in the USSR, who are candidates for training in a Soviet VUZ in the arts, architecture, international relations, international economic relations (foreign trade) and journalism must be accepted as students in the respective VUZ in Bulgaria. They need the permission of the Ministry of Public Education for continuing their training in a Soviet VUZ;

3. Secondary school graduates who have completed their training in a socialist country (with the exception of countries stipulated in Item 1), or in capitalist and developing countries, as well as graduates of Bulgarian secondary schools abroad must be accepted as students in the corresponding VUZs in Bulgaria. They will apply in accordance with the general regulations and the stipulations of Part I of the present regulation. Permission for continuing their education in a VUZ in the respective country will be issued by the MNP.

(2) Candidate students who are Bulgarian citizens and have completed their secondary training in capitalist or developing countries will be allowed to participate in competitive examinations if they have the following diplomas:

1. General education certificate "A" (advanced level), for secondary school graduates in countries with an English educational system, who have passed no less than two examinations in the pertinent subjects. Bulgarian language and literature will not be considered pertinent subjects;

2. Secondary education baccalaureate (second level), for graduates of schools based on the French educational system;

3. Bachelor's diploma or secondary education certificate or title of bachelor, for countries following the Spanish educational system;

4. High school diploma for those who have graduated in countries following the Portuguese educational system (Angola, Mozambique). Certificates for the completion of a pre-university course will not be considered the equivalent of secondary education diplomas.

Article 49. Candidate students as per Article 48, Paragraph 1, Item 1, accepted in a Soviet VUZ will submit to the Bulgarian embassy in Moscow, no later than 1 October, the following documents (or copies), required for registration by the MNP:

1. Registration petition (free text) indicating the precise address of permanent residence in Bulgaria;
2. Copy of the permission (area) issued by the Bulgarian embassy for applying to a Soviet VUZ;
3. Certificate issued by the Soviet VUZ to the effect that they have been enrolled as students, with a specifically indicated subject;
4. Official note certifying that the parents (or one of the parents) are employed and continue to be employed in the USSR;
5. Curriculum vitae;
6. Character reference issued by the secondary school from which they have graduated in the USSR;
7. Transcript or copy of the diploma for completed secondary education (secondary education certificate);
8. Two 4 x 6 photographs.

Article 50. (1) Candidate students as per Article 48, Paragraph 1, Item 2 and 3, will submit to the Bulgarian VUZ to which they will be applying the documents stipulated in Article 11, Paragraph 1, by no later than 14 July. Candidate students who will receive their diploma for completed secondary education later, will submit an official note issued by the Bulgarian embassy in the respective country certifying that they have successfully completed their secondary education during the year. The competition rating for such candidates will be computed after submission to the VUZ of the original diploma, translated and certified by the Bulgarian embassy in the respective country. Unless candidates enjoy priority as per Article 26, Paragraph 9, they will obtain permission for training in a Bulgarian or foreign VUZ providing that their competitive rating is not lower than the lowest rating of those admitted on a general basis in the respective professional area or specialty and category (men who have completed their military service, women and conscripts), and will enroll in a VUZ with unplanned vacancies.

(2) Candidate students as per Article 48, Paragraph 1, Items 2 and 3, must have a rating for participation in the competitive examinations, consisting of the respective grades in the diploma for completed secondary education, not to be lesser than the one stipulated in Article 6, Paragraph 1, in accordance with the stipulations of Article 7, Paragraphs 2 and 3. For art subjects the candidate requirements are indicated in the KK regulations on the acceptance of students in art VUZs.

(3) The taking of competitive examinations for the corresponding professional areas or specialties, and the testing and rating of competitive works, and the determination of the competitive rating points and the rating of the candidate students as per Article 48, Paragraph 1, Item 2 and 3, will be based on the stipulations of Parts III, IV and V of Chapter 1, Section II.

(4) Instead of tests on some of the special subjects stipulated in Appendix No 1, the candidate students who are Bulgarian citizens graduates of non-Bulgarian secondary school may take examinations on subjects indicated in Appendixes No 4 and 5. The point rating if no special subjects are included in the diploma for completed secondary education will be based on the grades in the special subjects indicated in Appendixes Nos 2 and 3.

Article 51. Students training abroad because one of their parents works abroad, will be allowed to transfer to a respective Bulgarian VUZ in the same or similar subjects or professional area by no later than 15 September in the following cases: end of the parent's labor contract; return of the students to Bulgaria for purposes of joining the armed forces, or for health or other extremely relevant family reasons. The determination of the professional area or specialty and the higher educational institution in which the student will pursue his training in Bulgaria will be determined by the Higher Education Council. The course (semester) in which the student will continue his education will be determined by the VUZ. The Ministry of Public Education will decide on individual transfer cases even after 15 September should substantial reasons exist to this effect, but no later than the beginning of classes for the respective semester.

Chapter 4

Correspondence Training

Part I

Enrollment of Bulgarian Citizens Working in the USSR in Correspondence Training in a Soviet VUZ

Article 52. Bulgarian citizens working on the basis of a contract in the USSR may apply for correspondence training in a Soviet VUZ in subjects determined by the MNP under the following conditions:

1. To have worked no less than 6 months at the respective project in the USSR by the time of submission of their documents;
2. To meet the stipulations of Article 33, Paragraph 1, Items 1, 2 and 5 and Paragraph 7.

Article 53. (1) Candidate students as per Article 52 will submit by no later than 30 April the following documents, to managers of corresponding instruction or production projects in the USSR:

1. Petition;
2. Certified transcripts or photocopy of the diploma for completed secondary education;
3. Recommendation with a character reference issued by the management of the respective project and a transcript of the order of appointment to the job;

4. Labor practice certifice;

5. Rating card.

(2) By no later than 5 May the managers of construction and production projects will submit to the Bulgarian embassy in Moscow a list of names and documents of recommended candidates for correspondence training in a Soviet VUZ.

Article 54. (1) Candidate students as per Article 52 will take on Soviet territory the competitive examinations for the various VUZs and specialties indicated in Appendix No 1.

(2) The competitive examinations will be taken between 1 and 20 June and will be organized and administered by the MNP with the assistance of the Bulgarian embassy in Moscow.

(3) Written works will be checked and graded in Bulgaria by commissions appointed by the MNP. The results will be mailed to the respective enterprises in the USSR by no later than 15 August.

(4) The computation of rating points and the rating of candidate students will be based on the procedure stipualted in Section II, Chapter 1, Parts IV and V, and Chapter 2, Part III. The orders and areas of study of the accepted students will be mailed to the respective entities in the USSR by no later than 15 August.

(5) After signing the labor contracts, the correspondence students may continue with their education on the basis of the resolution of the MNP. By no later than 15 September they must submit a petition, academic reference and certificate for concluded labor contract to the MNP. The Ministry of Public Education will determine the professional area or specialty and VUZ in which the training will be continued, while the respective VUZ will determine the training course.

Concluded Stipulations

1. In cases of unconscientious behavior, violation of the stipulated order in rating the written works, processing student documents, rating and registration of students, the commission members will be punished with dismissal as per Article 18, letter "d" of the Law on Higher Education; members of the administrative personnel will be punished as per Article 188, Paragraph 1, Item 5 of the Labor Code. If the action constitutes a crime, the prosecutor's office will be informed. In such cases the culprits will not be paid their fee for reviewing the written works.

2. Candidate students who have submitted documents with false information, who have tried to provide wrong information in filling their candidate student documents or to mislead the acceptance commissions, the VUZ management or the MNP will not be allowed to participate in the competition and their names will be given to the prosecutor's office for criminal indictment. Should erroneous information included in the candidate student documents be determined after the student candidates have been accepted, regardless of the training course,

they will be dismissed from the VUZ and taken to the prosecutor's office for purposes of criminal indictment.

3. Petitions and complaints related to any candidate-student matter will be addressed to the rector of the respective VUZ by no later than 5 September. No petitions and complaints will be accepted after that date. The VUZ rectors will make a final decision concerning candidate students' petitions and complaints in accordance with Article 15, Item 2 of the Regulation on the Application of the Law on Higher Education (DV, No 75, 1973; amended, No 77, 1973; amended and supplemented, No 29, 1975 and No 26, 1987) and the present regulation, by no later than 10 September.

4. By no later than 12 September the VUZs will submit to the MNP received petitions from following rejected candidates: full orphans, twins who may apply to the same VUZ, if only one of them has been accepted; those suffering from total or partial blindness in both eyes; and candidates as per Article 26, Paragraph 9. Such candidates must have passed their competitive examinations and met the stipulations concerning a minimal rating point as per Article 23, Paragraph 2 (for regular training) and Article 37, Paragraph 1 (for correspondence and night school training). Their petitions must be accompanied by the necessary documents certifying to each specific case. The MNP will consider the petitions and issue its decisions by no later than 20 September, informing the corresponding VUZ of the results. The MNP will accept petitions and complaints only through VUZ rectorates.

5. The MNP is the only authority which may assign Bulgarian students for training abroad.

6. Spouses of foreign citizens and children of Bulgarian citizens who have contracted a mixed marriage, who live abroad and have the status of resident of the corresponding country but who have retained their Bulgarian citizenship may enroll as students in VUZs in the respective country on the basis of the country's laws.

7. The MNP will provide overall guidance and supervision in the implementation of the present regulation.

8. This regulation is issued on the basis of Article 24 of the Law on Higher Education and invalidates Directive No 9 on the acceptance of students in higher educational institutions in the Bulgarian People's Republic and issuing permissions for training by Bulgarian citizens in foreign higher educational institutions (DV, No 10 and 11, 1984; amended and supplemented, No 52, 1984; No 22, 1985; and Nos 31 and 43, 1986).

Minister: I. Dimitrov

5003

CSO: 2200/105

CATHOLIC WEEKLY TRACES ROOTS OF SATANIC CULTS AMONG YOUTH

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 19, 10 May 87 pp 1, 5

[Editorial by Pawel Wleczorek: "Children of Satan"]

[Text] In the holiday issue of GOSC NIEDZIELNY, we published a letter from Gorzow which condemned the satanic excesses of the rock group "Kat." I assume that the majority of our readers associates Satanism with the witch trials of the seventeenth century, or at most with Roman Polanski's film "Rosemary's Baby." In any case, it is associated with something far off in time and space, and more grotesque than threatening. However, the subject needs further discussion. The night before Palm Sunday, a sacrilegious act was committed by a group of Satan worshippers in Katowice. Crosses from approximately twenty graves were overturned and desecrated in the cemetery on Sienkiewicz Street.

Satanism is usually described as a cult, a rite, a collection of ritual regulations, or as lifestyle in agreement with the belief in Satan. This movement came to us from the West, specifically from the United States, where in 1966 Anton Szandro La Vey, a former circus performer and actor, announced the formation of the Church of Satan and named himself the high priest. Two years later, he published the Satanic Bible that evoked terror by its extreme nihilism, promotion of evil, violence, and death. The Satanic movement, which was aimed in principle against all theistic and deistic religions, directed its main effort against Christianity. Unfortunately, the pseudo values propagated in La Vey's Bible coincide in some ways with the psychic and physical expectations of some teenagers lost in the contemporary world. In addition, the striking ceremonial of black magic also can be an attraction for individuals searching for vivid experiences.

The ideology of Satan worshippers arrived in Poland together with heavy metal music; more precisely with its "hardest" subgroups: black metal, speed-black, and trash metal. This is why Satanists were to be seen most often during the rock music festival in Jarocin, and also in Katowice at the "heavy metal" meetings (in other words at the "Metalmania" performances organized in Spodek). Satanists can be recognized by their colorful outfits ornamented with painted scenes, studs chains, and satanic emblems: the magical number "666," and the devil's pentagram (a star within a circle). Their sign is an upside-down cross, either worn on a belt, the neck, and sometimes in pierced ears. They are loud and aggressive, come from an uncultured environment, and are primarily from technical schools.

The Reverend Dr. Czeslaw Cekiera, SDS, assistant professor at the Catholic University in Lublin, is an authority in the area of non-conforming youth. In a paper presented at a recent symposium in the Salesian Youth Center in Warsaw, he expressed much uneasiness about Satanists, and stated that at the present time they are a small, but already dangerous group of youths. The numbers he gave cause us to question whether the group is small--Satan worshippers in Poland are said to number 10 thousand.

To date, their crassest action, which ended up in court and brought about much attention in the media, was the "black mass" celebrated by a group of Satanists in Jarocin. During the ritual held at night, a grave was desecrated and a dog was ritually slaughtered.

This incident turned universal attention to the "Children of Satan" subculture. Paradoxically however, at the same time it demonstrated both weakness and, fortunately, a certain ideological immaturity in the movement now forming in Poland. Rock music fans began to distance themselves from such drastic Satanism; Some fans of contemporary music distanced themselves from the heavy metal style. Youth from the narrower circle of heavy metal fans protested against equating them with Satanists. Even those covered with satanic emblems emphatically explained that in reality they attend church every Sunday or that they do not adhere to any religion, and they view their affiliation with the movement as strictly external.

I am inclined to believe them. For the majority of the Satanists, it is pure clownishness. Some of them are too uncultured to really understand the movement's ideology and accept it as their own--they "buy" the garb and the lifestyle because it is always more fun and safer in a group. The "shock" which came from exposing the "black mass" in Jarocin efficiently cured more than one of them.

However, I agree with Reverend Cekiera that the danger is real and serious. The Katowice group "Kat," whose appearance in Gorzow was strongly criticized by believers from the academic ministry there, was not one of the harshest in Jarocin. These were the performers from the group "Test Fobii Kreon" who broke a cross on the stage. But it was the leader of the group "Kat," Roman Kostrzewski, who in all seriousness explained to reporters: "Aggression gives security! If society knows that the individual is aggressive they won't bother him. In general, we prefer aggression..."

If groups of young hooligans in Jarocin beat "fans" of another "rite" into unconsciousness, if street brawls occur with increasing frequency, if the atmosphere of aggression becomes more and more common and continues to get worse, it is not important if the ringleaders are "Kat" vocalists, "Embassy of Hell" guitarists, or rowdy students from group "Sudden Epileptic Attack." It is not important if Satanists fighting "punks" or "skins"--or profaning a cemetery in Katowice--are completely conscious ideologues of their movement, or only just following a rowdy trend. The second possibility is even more unsettling--Satan prefers to act in secrecy.

So what is to be done? Besides finding definite perpetrators of criminal acts, I do not see any sense in analyzing song texts to determine which are more and which are less harmful, or in debating the meaning of various gestures and symbols. Even for the originators this is difficult to comprehend. After all, the degree of an individual's aggressiveness does not depend on the shape of the pendant hanging from his ear. It is necessary to save everyone. [---] [Article 2 paragraph 6 of the Law concerning inspection of publications and shows from 31 July 1981 (Journal of Laws of the Polish Republic, no. 20 item 99) amended in 1983 (Journal of Laws of the Polish Republic, no. 44 item 204)] No, it is necessary simply to evangelize! This is already being done in Jarocin. After all, those who call themselves "children of Satan" are really sons and daughters of everyday people, and above all they are God's children. They can be reached. It is possible to break the distrust and start a discussion. As Reverend Andrzej Szpak, one of the charismatic priests working in Jarocin, vividly put it: "The whole Satanism goes to hell".

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